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**NEW SCHOOLS
FOR OLDER STUDENTS**

STUDIES IN ADULT EDUCATION

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG
WORKERS

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NEW SCHOOLS FOR OLDER STUDENTS

By *Nathaniel Peffer.*

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CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS, LYCEUMS, CHAU-
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NEW SCHOOLS FOR OLDER STUDENTS

BY
NATHANIEL PEFFER

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1926

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**NEW SCHOOLS
FOR OLDER STUDENTS**

NEW SCHOOLS FOR OLDER STUDENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THIS volume is one of a series based on studies made for the Carnegie Corporation of New York and should be read in connection with the companion volumes or with them in mind if adult education in the United States is to be visualized as a whole. The others treat of university extension, chautauquas and lyceums, correspondence schools and the varied and numerous educational agencies for youths in the intermediate period between leaving school and finding themselves in their life work; yet another treats of the public library, most widespread and far-reaching of all the forms of adult education in the United States. The present volume deals with all that does not fall within those broad classifications, with the many individual, independent and less highly organized enterprises that have sprung up everywhere in recent years—with everything else, in fact.

This is a report rather than a book. It is not a unity or an organized whole; it is scarcely a continuity. It cannot be. The experiments here described are unrelated and unconnected. They cannot be unified and fitted into a neat, logical structure. Each is an experi-

ment in education and works with adults. The problems which arise in attempting to teach adults are common to all of them; nothing else is. All that can properly be attempted here, then, is to set down one by one such experiments as are distinctive in kind without being unrepresentative of the whole, to describe them, interpret them, point out those aspects common to all of them and therefrom draw such conclusions as are pertinent to adult education in general.

What is adult education? For one thing, it is a contradiction in terms. Adult, education—what relation can they have? Education is something that happens to one when one is young. After that one has it or not as the case may be. Second, adult education is a subject of acrimonious controversy, as he learns who asks adult educators to define it. Definitions are as many as there are educators, each educator ready to stand at Armageddon and battle to the death for the semi-colon in his own. Third, adult education is something that everybody is interested in for somebody else—for immigrants and Southern mountain whites and the poor and the working class. But never for oneself. Why oneself? Has one not a bachelor's degree? Numerous as the dining halls in which they may have their luncheons with speeches are the organizations dedicated to the increase or improvement in educational facilities for children or apprentices or Negroes or foreign-born or sub-normals, and rare almost beyond discovery the organization dedicated to the increase and improvement in the education of its own members.

For the purpose of this book adult education will be taken as something not involving pedagogical or metaphysical controversy for identification. Precise scientific definition may well wait until there is more adult education, when its nature can be definitively determined

by the event. Adult education is here taken, then, to be education outside the usual formal channels for men and women engaged in the ordinary pursuits of life; or, simpler, as the effort of grown persons to go on learning while earning a living. And an adult is one who has finished his formal preparatory education, whether it be school only or school and high school and university, and gone to work. But for the purpose of this book also it will be necessary to say what adult education is not. We shall assume that it is not belated elementary education, that is, the education one should have got in childhood but somehow, by accident or misfortune, did not get. Nor is it training for a job.

We shall not be interested therefore in efforts to abolish illiteracy or Americanize the immigrants. Those efforts may be necessary and valuable. It is no doubt essential that all grown persons know how to read and write and that the newcomers now dwelling on our soil know something of the government which represents them and the customs of the people whose neighbors they are. But these are needs which can be met by machinery now existing. It is merely a question of multiplying the units of machinery already in use. Important as literacy may be, there is something more important: education. The two are not synonymous. It is good to be able to read a page of print; it is better to be able to understand it, to know whether it is true or false. We have a literate population, except for a few pockets here and there, and have had for three generations. Yet one need only look at the news stands, at the sales accounts of the book publishers, at the electric signs before the theaters; one need only analyze the appeals to which the American mass responds. In no other country in the world is intellectual regimentation so easy. And it is possible to argue that the degree of discrim-

ination exercised in ordinary human situations by the illiterate peasantry of Oriental or less advanced European countries is as high as in prosperous, middle-class America. To construct and set in motion at prodigious social cost an engine to literate a people in order that it may be able to read tabloid newspapers is worse than wasteful, it is ridiculous. Let those who will, worry about the illiteracy of a few hundred thousand. What engages those in the field of adult education is not those few who cannot read but the millions who can read and read what they do; not that there are Negroes who make their signature with a cross and Poles and Jews who take only newspapers in their vernacular, but that the favorite reading of young men on leaving our colleges is one or another of the shoddy and uncerebral popular magazines. We are not interested, then, in that which gives adults the instruments for learning they unfortunately failed to get as children; we are interested in that which gives adults, already possessing the instruments, the learning they need for a life of discrimination.

So also we shall not be interested in vocational education, by vocational education meaning every form of technical training, whether for typewriting and blue-print reading or medicine and law. Such training also is necessary and valuable. Any society owes it to its members to equip them with instruments for earning a living.¹ The responsibility devolves upon an educational system to fit every individual to adapt himself to his environment by the proper use of his talents—the electrician and advertising writer no less than the professor of Greek. But like literacy this is a need which can be met by machinery already existing, more units being added if now insufficient. Important as technical training for livelihood may be, there is something more important: education for life. The two are not synonymous, and that they are so generally confused consti-

tutes one of the dangerous tendencies in American thinking.

It has been the writer's experience in visiting various institutions and organizations, after explaining that he wanted to know of educational activities of a humanistic or cultural character and then giving some of the simpler and more familiar stigmata of culture, to receive in reply impressive data on courses in accountancy, courses in insurance salesmanship, courses in auto mechanics. And this not out of any philosophic doctrine that cultural values inhere in lathe-turning and hair-dressing but out of sheer failure to perceive that there is a distinction. But there is. A balanced education must reveal to every youth his native bent and show him how to direct it to his best advantage, but it must do vastly more. That is only the rudimentary beginning of education.^f It must also help him to understand his environment and himself in relation to it in more senses than the material. Education must first open his intellectual curiosity and his imaginative curiosity about the nature of his world and then attempt to satisfy them or show him how he can go on striving toward their satisfaction.[†] The telegrapher and machinist and accountant are trained but not necessarily educated, and so also the doctor and lawyer and pedagogue, the question whether they get their training in youth or maturity being irrelevant. It is education, however, that concerns us now.

It has already been hinted and now may as well be said directly: the education in which we are interested in this book is what must be called, because English is an unpliant language, cultural education. A dreadful word, culture; a word with the unhappiest connotations. It is laden deep with associations of classical snobbery, cobwebbed scholasticism, pedantry, traditionalism. Yet, divorced from those associations—and the union is not

indissoluble—the word is symbol of an honored and honorable concept. It need not be said that the divorce is here pronounced. For our purposes cultural education is not exclusively the mastery of the quantities in Horace. It is not necessarily identical with classical scholarship. One who studies history, psychology, political science, English literature, sociology or political economy is also a candidate for cultivation. Cultural education is here broadly interpreted to be learning not pursued as preparation for a calling, whether trade or profession. Thus, a teacher who takes an evening course in Greek for credits toward a master's degree and higher pay is an adult acquiring knowledge; but that is not adult education by the test applied for the purpose of this book. There is no need, however, to enter into any fine-drawn controversy over the definition of culture and the nature of that which instils it. There is no need to affirm that in the mastery of a craft lie no cultural values. Our position is simply this: everybody knows that there are in this country multitudinous opportunities for vocational and professional training—can one not learn even to be a social lion or a Don Juan?—but what we have set ourselves to find out is how much there may be of effort to acquire learning for its own sake, for non-utilitarian enrichment. And though it be arbitrary, in this book the field has been circumscribed to include only such education.

This report can make no pretense of being all-inclusive, even within its field. It is not a census. It is a preliminary survey, not an intensive study. Much will have been left out inadvertently or for lack of space or as not being so clearly illustrative of the aims and achievements of adult education. The social settlements, for instance: their first object is social service, but they also have clubs, plays, classes in music. How much shall be called educational, directly or indirectly, and how much

philanthropy and social service? That many adults reached by social settlements are uplifted also intellectually is hardly doubtful. The Playground and Recreation Association, represented in hundreds of cities and towns, is predominantly what its name implies, but it also encourages the organization of community choruses, orchestras and dramatic groups. What shall be said of the 500 or more Little Theaters scattered about the country, giving new life to the drama in America? And of the increasing number of institutes on political affairs, economic problems, foreign relations, such as are held annually at Williams College and the University of Chicago, or the annual summer conferences on peace, religion, racial reconciliation and similar subjects? They represent at least organized attempts at dissemination of information, even if they offer no sustained systematic instruction. And of a body like the Child Study Association of America, which sends out to its members authoritative literature and conducts institutes and conferences with lectures by men and women of professional authority? Everywhere are study clubs, discussion circles or debating societies, little known outside their immediate radius yet in many instances affording their members as vigorous and continued intellectual exercise as any class. Nor can one fail to mention the newspapers, magazines, radio, moving pictures. With as few illusions as examination of their content permits, they at least have a pronounced effect on mind, if not always educating. And certainly they are unsurpassable in their potentialities. Very decidedly this is not an exhaustive treatment of the educational influences in American life.

This report also can make no pretense at exact scholarship. Few references are cited, because there are few. There is no literature of adult education in the United States or of adult education enterprises. Those engaged

in it are uniformly too occupied in establishing and maintaining themselves to write of themselves. Their literature consists chiefly of leaflet announcements and mimeographed sheets. These and personal visits and direct observation are the only sources which can be given. Finally, for the opinions here expressed the writer alone is responsible.

CHAPTER II

THE OPEN FORUM

THE open forum is an institution indigenous to American soil. It stems from the New England town meeting and quite consistently is still to be found most frequently and most securely established in New England. Originally a gathering of the male citizenry of the community to deliberate on matters of public policy—in effect, a legislative body—it is now a meeting for unofficial discussion of questions of broader public interest. Indirectly and incidentally, it is also, if not exactly an educational institution, at least an educating influence.

Few generalizations can be made concerning open forums, because each is an institution unto itself. Each is autonomous, determining its own content and procedure for itself and setting up its own standards. These depend entirely on the character of the community from which the forum draws its membership, and the last, in turn, on the social and economic setting of the community. Only in the broadest sense will a description of an open forum on the East Side of New York City hold also for a forum in a Unitarian church in a well-to-do Boston suburb. What they have in common is that each has regular meetings at which a speaker chosen by the forum's officers presents a point of view subsequently to be discussed by the audience. In some cases discussion consists of questions from the floor and answers by the speakers, in others short speeches are allowed from the floor. The latter are the less common.

The importance of the forum movement is difficult to measure quantitatively, because there exists no national census of forums or their membership. As a point from which to calculate there is only what is known as the Open Forum National Council, itself a loosely organized body. The roll of the Council is by no means comprehensive or geographically evenly balanced, nor is there a strict system of reporting from member forums to the Council. Yet it is the only central body that exists, and it may be taken as a basis for calculation. The additional fact that the Council is in process of reorganization as this is being written makes it none too substantial a basis, however.

The Council was organized ten years ago by George W. Coleman of Boston, founder of Ford Hall in that city, parent forum of the Council. Mr. Coleman's enthusiasm has been responsible also for the establishment of many individual forums in New England. He has dedicated himself to the role of propagandist of the forum idea, having been converted himself by what he saw in Cooper Union at the People's Institute Sunday evening meetings; and the latter-day spread of the forum idea is in large measure attributable to him. The Council maintains a central office in Boston with an executive staff. It publishes literature telling how to start a forum and how to conduct one after it is started. It serves as information bureau and consultant for those interested. Also it conducts a speakers' bureau, providing forums with speakers on the same terms and in the same way as any commercial lecture bureau. There is this essential difference, however: the Council has a sense of responsibility, and, not being bound by the necessity of showing a financial profit, is free to exercise it. The speakers' bureau can and does set standards. The speakers it recommends are not primarily entertainers or popularizers or headliners transitorily in public interest.

They have to possess qualifications besides the ability to get across with an audience. They deal primarily with social and economic questions and politics in the larger sense. Most of them are booked also by the commercial lecture bureaus for their high-brow centers. They lecture for forums when an engagement fits in conveniently on their tours. Financial considerations prohibit their lecturing for forums alone. The latter can pay only from \$25 to \$75 per lecture, and more often \$25 than \$75. In the season 1923-1924 the Council's speakers bureau provided lecturers for 400 engagements in 17 states.

The Council has a membership of 195 forums in 32 states, distributed as follows:

Alabama	2	Montana	2
California	9	Nebraska	1
Colorado	3	New Hampshire	2
Connecticut	16	New Jersey	12
Florida	4	New York	32
Illinois	9	North Carolina	1
Indiana	2	Ohio	16
Iowa	3	Oklahoma	1
Kansas	3	Pennsylvania	9
Kentucky	1	Rhode Island	4
Louisiana	1	Tennessee	2
Maryland	2	Texas	1
Massachusetts	40	Vermont	1
Michigan	4	Washington	3
Minnesota	3	West Virginia	1
Missouri	1	Wisconsin	4

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The distribution manifestly is unbalanced. More than a fifth, it will be seen, are in Massachusetts alone. One hundred, or more than half, are in four states: Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and New York. Too many deductions cannot be drawn from this fact. If

a disproportionate number of forums is found in one corner of the Atlantic seaboard, it does not necessarily mean that there alone is the forum idea popular. Other factors may account for the uneven distribution. For one thing, obviously, it has been easier to enroll forums within the radius of the personal influence of Mr. Coleman and his staff; there may be many in more distant states that have not been enrolled for the reason only that the Council has not had the means to conduct a membership campaign. If Mr. Coleman had been a Chicagoan there would have been more in the Mississippi Valley states. There are two other factors, a little less accidental in their nature. The first, of course, is density of population. Forums are easiest to start in large centers; not necessarily in large cities but in towns which reflect the influence of metropolitan centers. Also, it is in such centers and their dependent areas that interests are broader. The other is religious domination. Of the 195 forums enrolled in the Council, 104 are conducted under the auspices of churches. Thirty-four are Jewish. The other 70 are Unitarian, Congregational, Universalist or "People's" or "Community" churches—the left wing of non-conformism, in other words. The world is very much with churches of these denominations; war and economic relations and social problems occupy them almost as much as the spiritual.

Taking these three factors—Mr. Coleman's personal influence, concentration of population and religious liberalism—we have the explanation of the disproportionate distribution of forums as shown by the Council's figures. In these four states there is the greatest density of population; in the New England states the Unitarian and Congregational churches are strongest; and all are within easy reach of the Council's machinery.

One more general fact is worth noting. Of the 195 forums enrolled by the Council, 140 give the date of their

founding; and of those, 131 or all but nine have been founded since 1917, and 93 or two-thirds since 1920. Whether the reason for this is that the last few years are also the period of Mr. Coleman's proselyting zeal or that there has been an awakening of public consciousness of the importance of social and economic questions since the war cannot be determined. Certainly the fact is worth observing.

Forums as a rule have weekly meetings. In answer to a questionnaire 130 of the 195 member forums reported that they met on Sunday, either afternoon or evening. They averaged 17 meetings in the year. Many in the larger cities continue for six or seven months, many in the smaller cities have only ten or twelve meetings a year. Either popular interest is not sufficiently robust for more meetings or finances do not hold out. The latter is of equal importance, for speakers must be paid and generally the members of the forum must defray all or most of the expenses themselves. Attendance figures returned by 117 out of 195 forums show an average of 450 at a meeting. It is a conservative estimate that there are 300 forums in the country, 105 more than are enrolled in the Council. Taking 450 as the average attendance, we have, then, 135,000 individuals taking part in open forums weekly for four months of the year.

What is the nature of these meetings? Programs are fairly uniform in outline. As a rule they are opened by music. This is followed by the speaker of the evening, to whom an hour is allowed. Then comes the question and discussion period, lasting from fifteen minutes to an hour. In some forums questions must be put in writing, in others they may be put orally. In some short speeches may be made from the floor, in the majority only questions may be asked. The writer's observation has been that questions are more pertinent and searching when put orally, and the atmosphere is in consequence less

perfunctory. Only in an atmosphere of informality is there likelihood of getting a free play of question and answer, and only where there is free play of question and answer is there developed the critical spirit, the spirit of challenge, even, necessary for really vital discussion.

If an over-convinced young Socialist shout "Liar" at a speaker who lays the world's ills to exaggerated labor demands, or an outraged advertising man cry "Bolshevik" at a speaker who cites Lenin as one of the important figures of our time, the lack of decorum is regrettable, but less regrettable than a spirit of docile acceptance. Bad manners can be reprimanded, and always are; and the writer has seen an audience applaud the reprimand and the offender apologize. For docility there is no such quick and easy corrective. There is a point at which decorum is indistinguishable from dullness. In fact, the dullest forums the writer has seen were also those that were most proper. Also, it may be said that lecturers have told the writer that they themselves most enjoyed talking to audiences which caught them up at every slip. And they came best prepared and were most wary in their presentation where they knew they had an audience prepared to challenge. Such an audience exercises automatically a process of selection. Only the best speakers, those most competent to deal with their subjects, dare face it. The professional lecturers, the numerous breed who do the new psychology one season, foreign affairs the next and government ownership the next, depending on the headlines in the current newspapers, do not hazard such an audience.

Speeches from the floor at forum meetings, as distinguished from questions to the speaker, tend to futility and are not permitted in the best-conducted forums. They are made, in the vast majority, by the professionally articulate, who may or may not have anything to say.

In many cases a small professional group of speech-makers talks at every meeting, no matter who the lecturer and what the subject, generally saying the same thing. In fact, the writer has noticed in going around among the forums in Greater New York that the same group turns up at different forums, always to air the same "views." They are habitual forum goers, either cranks or show-offs.

Just how forums function is best told by describing a few typical ones, preferably those that most nearly approach the aims of the leaders of the movement. For this purpose Ford Hall of Boston serves best. In the winter of 1907 George W. Coleman, a lay officer of the Baptist church organization in Boston, was passing through New York on his way home from the South. He had long heard of the work being done by the Cooper Union Forum, founded by Charles Sprague Smith, and went to one of its Sunday evening sessions. Cooper Union is the oldest of the forums but as it has since been merged into the work of the People's Institute of New York it will be treated in this report as a separate institution.

So impressed was Mr. Coleman by what he saw at Cooper Union that he returned to Boston fired by the ambition to found a similar institution there. He submitted the idea to the Christian Work Committee of the Baptist Social Union, of which he was chairman, and only with difficulty persuaded a majority of the committee to vote him a small appropriation for the experiment and lend the use of Ford Hall, the auditorium in the Union's building on Beacon Hill. With the few hundred dollars voted him he began a vigorous advertising campaign, in newspapers, on billboards and by posters and handbills in all languages and everywhere. He concentrated on the poorer districts and the foreign quarters,

for it was his object to draw in those for whom no such channel of expression had hitherto been opened.

"The only people who are not welcomed here are the church people," he said at one of the first meetings. "We would welcome everybody if we had room for them. But this meeting is for those who have no church home."

Despite the advertising campaign the first results were meager. Only 150 came to the first meeting, in February, 1908. The maximum attendance at the six meetings held the first year was 350. It was only in the second year that the Ford Hall Forum, as it was called, became securely established. At the fourth meeting of that season, when four ministers of different denominations, all of them of radical or liberal leanings, were booked to talk, the hall was packed and hundreds were turned away. It has been packed ever since, and often hundreds have come to find the doors closed.

The Ford Hall Forum begins officially at 8 o'clock. Unofficially it begins much earlier. Before 7 o'clock a little knot of men and women will already have gathered before the undistinguished building which houses the Baptist Social Union and Ford Hall. In a few minutes it will have extended into a queue, which lengthens with every passing minute. It is an animated line, curling as it lengthens into little groups chatting amiably, for most of those who compose it have come to know each other from past Sunday evenings similarly spent together. At 7 o'clock the doors are opened and there is a good-natured rush for favorite seats. Not much later the hall is well-filled. A capacity audience of 1500 is the rule. On the occasion when the writer was present—a pouring, clammy winter night—a thousand men and women were in their places a quarter of an hour after the doors were opened and when the speaker was called few vacant spaces were to be seen. Seven o'clock to half-past is a social half-hour; again, as outside before

the doors were opened, it is apparent that this is not only a public meeting but also a social function. At 7:30 the meeting is brought to order by Mr. Coleman and there is half an hour of good music by artists who donate their services. At eight sharp the speaker of the evening is introduced.

The speaker is given an hour exactly and then the most stimulating part of the evening begins. For this is no perfunctory lyceum with a speaker to talk and an audience to listen. This is not an audience at all, in fact; it is a participant in a discussion. The speaker having had his say, now comes its turn. As the speaker resumes his seat for a moment of rest, a buzz of rapid comment runs through the crowd and an atmosphere of anticipatory thrill settles. It is much like the hush preceding the kick-off at a football game or the opening of a political convention, and for much the same reason: a contest impends.

Mr. Coleman rises and assumes command of the meeting. He announces that as usual the auditorium will be taken by sections, questions being allowed from only one section at a time. This evening he will begin with the curve of the balcony nearest the stage. He points his finger upward to the balcony and calls for questions, but before he has spoken five or six are on their feet, crying out simultaneously. One is recognized; the others sit down reluctantly. He puts his question. If it rambles or runs to statement rather than interrogation, he is checked. Questions only are permitted, and no speeches. Mr. Coleman puts the question to the speaker himself, editing it of superfluties and bringing out its point, an art in which he has become singularly adept. The question is answered. If satisfactorily, the speaker is applauded; if not met squarely, it is pressed home by another. No speaker who does not know his subject, who does not have his facts to support assertions, comes

off unscathed by this audience. It has prepared itself. He must also be nimble of wit and able to think quickly on his feet; a "canned" speech will avail him little. For these are sharp and practised examiners. Question follows question staccato. Nearly all are relevant and cleave to the issue. Sometimes one may be only the airing of the interrogator's pet theory. If so and if it has been aired before, he is gently chided, both by the chairman and by the audience. Generally questions are also courteous; if not, they are edited and rebuked, jocularly but effectively. It is the Forum's boast that any speaker who comes before it will be dealt with vigorously but politely. At the end of the hour the meeting is brought to a close, with many still begging for just one more question. But it is an unbroken rule that the meeting closes at ten o'clock. Nearly always, however, the discussion is adjourned to the sidewalk, where the debate—or several debates in different groups—may continue for another hour.

It is apparent that the success or failure of a forum turns as much on the personality of the chairman as on the speaker and the audience. If the chairman is stimulating, he will do as much to bring out questions as the speaker and the subject. If he is fair-minded, the members will allow him to determine what is in place. If also he is firm enough to control the unruly and the too combative and at the same time rule out irrelevancies, he will keep the meeting on a high plane and prevent its degenerating into a heckling pandemonium, which is one of the two great dangers in any forum—the other being that it will be just dull. When such touchy subjects as religion or race or socialism are up for discussion—and in the case of Ford Hall no subject is avoided because of its delicacy—only a firm control can prevent scenes. But Mr. Coleman is uniquely skilful and for that reason, more than any other, Ford Hall is a conspicuous success.

It may be interesting to look at the constituency of Ford Hall. The Forum recruits in the main from the working class. It has a dues paying membership of 1350 in what is known as Ford Hall Folks. These are factory workers, artisans and small shopkeepers in the great majority. There are nearly as many women as men. One-third are of foreign birth and more than half of foreign parentage. Nearly all nationalities are represented, including some Negroes. Approximately half are Jewish, a few are Catholic and the rest are of all Protestant sects or avowed atheists or agnostics, the two last being fairly numerous despite the equally avowed religious convictions of Mr. Coleman and the religious setting of the forum. Also, a large proportion are radicals and socialists, and many are communists. Of this heterogeneous mass, not only heterogeneous but in its component parts mutually antagonistic, a rare unity has been welded. There is a definite Ford Hall spirit. Its essence is friendliness and tolerance. The last most of all; difference of opinion, even acute disagreement on matters that touch individuals intimately, is accepted without any self-consciousness. It is taken for granted as routine. Religion, for instance, is discussed more frequently than any other subject. Whether the speaker be Catholic or Protestant or Jew—all three faiths are frequently represented in the rostrum—he is given a courteous hearing. When questions are uncomfortably pointed, as they usually are, no active partisanship is voiced from the floor. A Jesuit Father's uncompromising exposition of the Roman Church's hostility to socialism is heard by a largely socialistic audience without offense, and questions intended to refute him are so couched as to give no offense, though the intensity of feeling behind them is not concealed. A rabbi pleads with his people, before an audience half Christian, to emphasize rather than to suppress their Jewishness. He is applauded by Jew and

Gentile alike. Problems of sex relations are discussed without mincing and without self-consciousness. If Ford Hall can make no other claim as an educational institution, it at least teaches tolerance.

A definite effort has been made to cultivate this spirit by providing as many opportunities as possible for personal relationships. Social functions are held frequently. Twice a month on Sunday afternoons Ford Hall Folks meet to hear a short talk and to have supper together. After the talk "shop" is barred. There is an old-fashioned, informal "social." Once a month also there is what is known as the Town Hall. This is a smaller meeting for more intensive discussion, the attendance averaging a hundred. Some of the subjects taken up at the Town Hall last year were: Criminals—What Shall We Do About Them? led by Mrs. Jessie B. Hodder, superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women; What is Democracy? led by Ben Franklin Allen; What is the Future of the Family? led by Professor E. R. Groves of Boston University.

Race and religion have occupied the forum most, religion being used here in the broader sense. Political and social problems, problems of democratic government and social relations, have been next. The program for the year 1924-1925 may be taken as representative of the forum's work, both as to subjects and speakers. The program follows:

Dr. Stephen S. Wise—How Shall America Deal with the Menace of the Ku Klux Klan?

The Rev. J. Vint Laughland—The Rise to Power of the British Labor Party.

Judson King—From the Top of the Washington Monument.

Dean Charles R. Brown—What the Church Has to Say to Labor.

Robert Lincoln O'Brien—Why Government Ownership Fails.

Morris Hillquit—The Coming Political Realignment.

Dr. Arthur E. Morgan—What Is Civilization?

Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Weller—For What Is America Preparing, Democracy or Decay?

Henry Gideon—Music and Men.

Miss Margaret Slattery—Who Does Your Thinking for You?

Dr. Stanton Coit—Is Marriage a Sacrament or a Contract?

Dr. John Haynes Holmes—Race Prejudice: Its Cause and Cure.

Angelo Patri—Character Training.

Abraham Cahan—Are We Taking Literature Seriously Enough?

Robert A. Bakeman—Breaking Down Prejudices in the Community.

Professor Edward A. Ross—The Social Revolution in India.

Dr. James J. Walsh—What's the Matter with Medicine?

Dr. Will Durant—The Psychological Differences between Man and Woman.

Mrs. Frank B. Gilbreth—The Effect of Scientific Management on the Worker.

Mrs. Cornelia Stratton Parker—Human Nature and the European Tangle.

Matthew Woll—Labor's Attitude Toward Socialism and Communism.

Professor Felix Frankfurter—The Meaning of the Progressive Movement.

Dr. John Herman Randall—Workers, Parasites and Dreamers.

Dr. Harry Levi—The Real American.

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman—Americans Versus Aliens.

Professor Manley O. Hudson and Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons—To Be in the League of Nations or Not to Be.

One of the outgrowths of Ford Hall is the forum of Daytona Beach in Florida. As Mr. Coleman was inspired by Cooper Union, so Robert S. Holmes was by Ford Hall. He, too, decided to go home and do likewise. He decided to start a forum in Daytona Beach. He did

it on the latter-day Florida scale. He built an auditorium holding 3,000 persons and he fills it every Sunday afternoon. In addition to the Sunday afternoon forum meetings he has events scheduled for Tuesday and Friday evenings, when plays are given by visiting companies and concerts by visiting artists. For these, however, admission fees are charged.

The Daytona Beach Forum, being wealthy, is able to set a high standard for its speakers, higher than it normally could at so great a distance from metropolitan centers. Forums in or near large cities can obtain the services of good lecturers at a relatively small cost because they can draw from the educational and cultural resources of the city. Those far from large centers must draw from men of lesser rank or pay more. Daytona Beach, however, is wealthy. It can bring men from a distance. Its program for two months of the season 1924-1925, which follows, is illustrative:

Dr. Charles Payne (University of Minnesota)—The Romance of Science.

Dr. Harvey W. Wiley—The New Knowledge of Nutrition.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman—Our Brains and What Ails Them.

Captain G. Gordon-Smith (associated with the Jugo-Slav Legation in Washington)—The Break-up of the Austrian Empire and the Formation of the Succession States.

J. Adams Puffer—Moral Training in Our Public Schools.

Harrison E. Howe (editor of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry)—The Discoveries of Tomorrow.

Dr. Paul Kammerer (University of Vienna)—The Future Race.

Sherwood Anderson—America, the Storehouse of Vitality.

Count Ilya Tolstoi—The True Russia.

Arthur Nash—The Golden Rule of Business.

An organization of a different type is Unity Forum in Montclair, New Jersey. This is conducted by Unity

Church of the Unitarian denomination, of which the Rev. Edgar S. Wiers is minister. The membership is almost entirely of the upper middle class and well-to-do New York suburbanite element. The officers describe the audience as "intellectual and suburbanite"—the last word, it need hardly be said, is used here without its connotations in rebellious literature. On the whole, it is a mentally sophisticated and intellectually alert audience, with wide interests; if it represents less intransigence than Ford Hall, it is at least open-minded and chooses its speakers without partisan bias. Under Dr. Wiers' discriminating guidance, Unity Forum's rostrum in its seventeen years of existence has been occupied by the most distinguished men on the lecture platform and many others not professionally engaged in lecturing but distinguished in the country's life. Among those who have addressed the forum in recent years are Gifford Pinchot, Supreme Court Justice David J. Brewer, Philip Snowden, Stephen Lauzanne, Bertrand Russell, Alexander Meiklejohn, President Arthur E. Morgan of Antioch College, James H. Maurer of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Dean George W. Kirchwey of Columbia University, Raymond Fosdick, Frederick C. Howe, Andrew Furuseth of the Seamen's Union, John Mitchell, Vida Scudder, Booker T. Washington and Norman Hapgood. The average attendance at the fifteen meetings of the forum each year is 300.

The standard maintained by Unity Forum may be gathered from the program for three months in 1925 :

Clarence Darrow—Is Capital Punishment a Wise Public Policy?

Professor Harlow Shapley, of Harvard—The Evolution of the Stars and Us.

William Hard—The Results of the Election.

Warden Lewis E. Lawes of Sing Sing—Crime and Criminals.

Margaret Sanger—Civilization and Population.

John Langdon-Davies, of Oxford—Why Trotsky Hates MacDonald.

Professor James T. Shotwell, of Columbia—American Participation in the Disarmament Conference.

President Henry N. MacCracken, of Vassar—The Youth of Today.

Kenneth MacGowan—When Is a Theater Not a Theater?

Norman Thomas—The Bases of a New Internationalism.

Mlle. Marguerite Clément, University of Versailles—The Political Situation in Europe from the French Point of View.

Somewhat of the same type as Unity Forum is the Community Church of New York, of which Dr. John Haynes Holmes is the well-known pastor. For years the Community Church had been holding evening meetings devoted to secular matters. In 1915 these became open forums and have been so conducted ever since. This is one of the forums which permit short speeches from the floor. At first there is a question period subsequent to the evening's address, questions being submitted in writing. After these are answered the meeting is thrown open to short speeches from the floor. Theoretically these are addressed to the subject of the evening. In practice most of them are more likely to be irrelevant, the garrulities of those who like to hear themselves in public.

The audience is of a conspicuously mixed character, a unique cross-section of a great city. For here together are the well-to-do professional man and his wife, broken away from orthodox denominations and inclined to humanitarian liberalism; the unadjusted of a large city, without a circle of their own and seeking an evening's companionship, even impersonal companionship, and the opportunity to broaden their outlook; the intellectual with radical leanings; the middle-class business man with interests wider than the problems of making a living; and the rebellious, fanatical East Side Jew. What is

common to them all, from Dr. Holmes in the pulpit to the recent immigrant in the last row, is a tendency to the left. Dr. Holmes is a pacifist and socialist; his voice has ever been the voice of protest. And he has added to his pulpit a sounding-board for protest. The speakers who are invited for the forum meetings, therefore, are those who, if not of the left, are sympathetic to the left. Intellectually, however, they are of a high order, and their intellectual credentials are known before they are invited by Dr. Holmes. Here, too, the professional entertainer of the lecture platform is conspicuous by his absence.

Following is the program for three months, typical of the Community Church standard:

Dr. John Haynes Holmes—This Enormous Decade, 1914-1924.

Savel Zimand—My Talks with Gandhi and the Grave Situation in India Today.

Professor George W. Kirchwey—The New Science and the Old Criminology as Illustrated by the Leopold-Loeb Trial.

Fola LaFollette and Mrs. Glendower Evans—The Third Party.

Robert McElroy and Francis Gallatin—The Political Campaign.

Professor Manley O. Hudson—Recent Contributions of the League of Nations to International Peace.

Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare—The Prison of the Future.

Scott Nearing—The Dawes Plan and the Outlook for Europe.

Norman Angell—America's Concern in Britain's Labor Movement.

John Langdon-Davies—Can Women Remain Feminists?

Professor Edward M. Earle—The Egyptian Nationalist versus the English Tories.

Stanton Coit—American Isolation and the Brotherhood of Nations.

William Pickens—Our Race Problem: a Single Standard of American Citizenship.

The forum meetings are held on Sunday evenings. These are not the only lay educational efforts of the Community Church, however. Lectures, singly and in courses, are given on other evenings as well. This year, for example, Professor William P. Montague of Columbia University has been giving a series of lectures on Radical Social Theories. The church has taken upon itself the obligation of opening to its members, and to the public as well, access to the cultural resources of the nation's intellectual capital. It fulfills the obligation exceptionally well.

Another type of organization is the municipal or civic forum, maintained by donations from public spirited men of the city and given indirect support by the municipality in the form of the free use of a public building. The attendance also is more widely representative of the population than in other forums. One of the best of this type is to be found in Detroit, under the direction of Frederick F. Ingram.

The Detroit Civic Forum has its meetings on Sunday afternoons from November to April. It meets in the Central High School Auditorium, the attendance ranging from 500 to 1500, depending upon the speaker. The constituency of a municipal forum is necessarily more loosely knit than that of forums conducted by a homogeneous organization. The Detroit Forum is now in its seventh year and is securely established. At first it met serious obstacles and its success seemed doubtful. All sides were prejudiced against it. Some held it subversive of all the fundamental principles or of such principles as were fundamental to each particular viewer with alarm. Seven years ago, it will be remembered, was the season of fevered alarms. Some held the forum to be only a sinister instrument of capitalist propaganda.

"We finally convinced the public that it was really impartial," Mr. Ingram says, "and now all classes come."

Again, as in Ford Hall, education at least in tolerance.

Speakers at this forum are in effect restricted to social and economic subjects. Among those who spoke in the season 1924-1925 were: Clarence Darrow on crime, John Langdon-Davies on the younger generation in Europe, George L. Record of New Jersey on the invisible government, Arnold Wolfers of Germany on the political and economic situation of Germany, Boris Brasol on Russia, Professor Edward A. Ross on the social revolution in India, Roger Baldwin on free speech and Thomas Q. Harrison, secretary of the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, on the outlook for peace.

Another municipal forum is that of Denver, Colorado. This holds its meetings on Sunday in the Civic Center Community Building under the direction of the Rev. George S. Lackland, pastor of the Grace Community Church. The Denver Forum is indirectly allied with other community social movements, Dr. Lackland being also the moving spirit of the Denver Labor College. The forum devotes most of its attention to politics. In 1924 representatives of all the parties in the campaign of that year presented their views. Others who spoke the same season were Scott Nearing, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Colonel Ernest K. Coulter (on the Big Brother movement) and Samuel L. Joshi (on how America looks to Asia). The Denver Forum tends leftward and to what may be called the uplift, but it, too, may be said consciously to strive for impartiality.

The Philadelphia Forum is an example of a wealthy forum conducted practically under private auspices and almost exclusively for the benefit of its members. It was started in 1921 on the combined initiative of the University Extension Society, the City Club, the Civic Club (an organization of women) and the Academy of Music Corporation. It has a membership of 4,500, with annual dues of \$20 entitling members to admission to

sixty events a year. These events are all "stellar attractions," whether lectures or concerts. The forum aims at men of public note almost entirely, men who are distinguished and either expensive or hard to get. Thus, its speakers have included Mr. Coolidge, Mr. Hughes, M. Clemenceau, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Robert Cecil, Earl Birkenhead, Thomas W. Lamont, Frank A. Vanderlip, Herbert Hoover and James M. Beck. Its artists are of the stamp of Chaliapin, Galli-Curci and Paderewski. The Philadelphia Forum is really a lecture platform de luxe rather than a forum in the sense of those already considered, and while it has a question period of half an hour following every lecture—questions being submitted in writing—it may be assumed that questions put to Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Robert Cecil will be respectful and circumspect and kindly.

At the other extreme is the Brooklyn Heights Forum, in Brooklyn, a unique institution with something of the flavor of a village debating society in the little red schoolhouse, although its membership is recruited almost entirely from the white-collar class—clerical employes, small shopkeepers and the more highly skilled artisans. It has elective officers, numberless committees, business meetings, minutes and active politics. Also it indulges in picnics, hikes, banquets and similar functions in addition to the regular Wednesday evening meetings. These meetings, attended by from sixty to one hundred men and women, are rather catholic in their interests and methods. Occasionally there is an address by an invited speaker, after which there are either questions or speeches from the floor, as the spirit moves. At other times there is a debate, also reminiscent of the village school both as to subject and method, or there may be a series of speeches by members on subjects chosen as they list; or there may be a business meeting to deliberate on the site for the next banquet or the report of the committee delegated to investigate the operation of a neighborhood

store purporting to sell articles made by the blind; or, if it is Safety Week, the police lieutenant of the district may be invited to point the dangers of jay-walking, or, in Fire Prevention Week, the district fire captain may counsel abstention from dropping unextinguished matches into waste-paper baskets. The ideas here ventilated originate in the newspapers read by their protagonists and the issues are drawn on the difference between the various newspapers. Discussion is untainted of sophistication, even of accurate information; but in its naiveté and spontaneity is sometimes also refreshing.

The range and nature of open forum activities are sufficiently indicated even in so rapid a summary. They cannot be called educational in the exact sense of the word. They are neither systematic nor consecutive, and their content is limited. Programs are restricted largely to public questions, dealt with in the concrete. Even where otherwise, they are unrelated, one to another. One Sunday the subject is child labor, the next Gandhi and the next the eclipse in the heavens. Even if the addresses and the discussion be on the highest level, there is no point of focus or line of definite progression. There is no preparation in advance of a program or study afterward, and each program does not follow logically from the one before or lead to the one after. On the other hand, the forum does have the merit of presenting to large groups points of view on important questions, with opportunity for response from the auditors. As such it is to be distinguished from the ordinary popular lecture platform where so much is doled out, to be taken or left as the auditor passes out through the doors. And as already pointed out, where well conducted the forum teaches a lesson in tolerance. In any case, it does open horizons. It stimulates an interest which may evolve into systematic study. Certainly as a social institution and as an instrument of democracy it is invaluable.

CHAPTER III

THE INSTITUTE

THE word institute in the United States has a loose designation. It may denote an organization or a place for research, as in Europe, and it may also denote a lyceum or a school or a combination of the two or even something that defies ready classification. In this chapter will be taken up institutes which center their work on lectures, either singly or in courses, and are therefore related in aim and method to the open forum.

These institutes are of longer lineage than most of the educational enterprises included in this report and represent an older phase of adult education. They date from the period when the lyceum and lecture platform were the only channels of education outside the few institutions of higher learning. Necessarily so; the population of the United States was spread over a wide, undeveloped area; school systems were less highly organized; there were few large centers of population; the lecture platform and such few lending libraries as there were marked the only feasible routes for the diffusion of knowledge. Out of this social situation there grew up also another kind of institute, devoted to instruction in technical subjects. It also will be noticed in this chapter, because of its origin, although its purpose is not cultural.

Lowell Institute is one of the oldest and most distinguished of the cultural institutions of Boston. Though at no time making or attempting to make any popular

appeal, it has had a positive influence on the intellectual life of the city. The Institute is associated with the distinguished Boston family whose name it bears. It was founded in 1839 by a legacy in the will of John Lowell, Jr., which provided that the income from the bequest be used to maintain free public lectures for the people of Boston by the best men available in all fields of learning. Since the principal sum was large and the income has always been ample, it has been possible to bring to the Institute some of the most famous men in the scholastic world. There Silliman, Lyell, Agassiz, James Russell Lowell, John Fiske, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Dr. Eliot and many others of their stature have voiced their ideas. It was the Institute that brought Agassiz to America in 1846 for a course of lectures, an engagement that led to his remaining in America.

The Institute has five departments of work:

1. Free public lectures, given in Huntington Hall of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
2. Free public lectures on Monday afternoons in King's Chapel on current topics in theology.
3. Evening school of technical courses under the auspices of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
4. Collegiate courses in technical subjects, part of the extension work of educational institutions in and near Boston.
5. Teachers' School of Science, also part of the extension work of educational institutions in and near Boston.

The second and third, being technical and professional, do not fall within the scope of this report. The fourth and fifth are being treated in the volume of this study devoted to university extension. Only the first need be discussed here.

Almost without exception, the lectures given under the auspices of the Institute are in courses. Both as to subject and content they may be described as the opposite of popular. They run to science and theory; there

is no conscious effort to make them easily palatable. Those who come are expected to do so out of their interest and to be prepared to understand. If they do not, they will not come again. Nevertheless, the lectures are well attended. Figures taken for the last three years show an average of 400 per lecture. One given by a more widely known man on a topic of more general interest may attract 700 or 800, others of a more technical nature appealing only to the specialist may have as low as one hundred. But 400 is a fair average.

The level maintained by the Institute through its history will be seen from the program for 1924, which follows in full:

1. Six lectures by H. A. L. Fisher on "The Aftermath of the War."

2. Six lectures by Professor A. J. Carlyle of Oxford University on "The Mediæval Political Theory and the Principles of Modern Political Organization."

3. Eight lectures by Dr. Dana Carlton Munro of Princeton University on "The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem."

4. Six lectures by Professor Alexander McAdie of Harvard University on "The Weather in Peace and War."

5. Eight lectures by Professor Reginald A. Daly of Harvard University on "Our Mobile Earth."

6. Two lectures by Peter Sushkin of the Russian Academy of Sciences: "The Nature of the Russian Altai and Northwest Mongolia" and "History of the Recent Fauna of Siberia and Central Asia."

7. Eight lectures by Major General Sir Frederick Maurice on "Robert E. Lee, the Soldier."

8. Eight lectures by Professor Alfred North Whitehead of Harvard University on "Science and the Modern World."

9. Eight lectures by Professor Walter Fenko Dearborn of Harvard University on "Intelligence Tests and Their Significance for School and Society."

10. Eight lectures by George Stewart Adams of Oxford University on "Idealism and Realism in Politics."

There were, thus, two lectures a week throughout the season, all by men with authority in their fields. They were attended by roughly 25,000 persons, all seeking knowledge rather than entertainment. Insofar as the lecture method, without opportunity for response by the auditor, may be called educational—this is determined in no small part by the intellectual level of the lecture—Lowell Institute may be called an educational institution for adults.

More popular in character is the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. This, too, boasts of a long history as history is counted in the United States. It was founded in 1823 as a lending library under the name of the Apprentices' Library. Its printed chronicles record that its first collection of books was gathered up in a wheelbarrow calling at the homes of friends and that two years later the cornerstone of its own building was laid by La Fayette. Later the Apprentices' Library was merged with the Brooklyn Lyceum and the new organization set out to bring prominent lecturers to Brooklyn, not unlike the Lowell Institute. Then it languished for a period and in 1888 had a rebirth, from which its subsequent rapid growth dates.

The Institute's efforts are many and varied. It conducts the Brooklyn Museum of Arts and Sciences, the Children's Museum and the Brooklyn Botanical Garden; also a number of lecture departments and a School of Pedagogy. Only the last two fall properly within this chapter. As may be inferred from the number and character of these efforts, the Brooklyn Institute is wealthy. It has a general endowment of \$2,000,000; the educational department, which provides most of the lectures, has \$500,000 alone. Two-thirds of the income of the general endowment fund is appropriated for the maintenance of the museums and general administrative expenses; the other third is ear-marked for the depart-

ments doing educational work. There are also some special grants, like one of \$10,000 for chamber music. In addition there is the income from memberships. The Institute has 13,000 members, each paying \$10 a year. This fee entitles a member to free admission to all lectures and a reduction on tickets for special events for which admission is charged, like concerts by Kreisler, Rachmaninoff, the New York Symphony Orchestra, etc. If the Institute has a large operating fund, it also must serve a large public. In the fiscal year 1923-1924 the number of those who visited the museums or attended lectures or concerts was 850,000. Those who attended lectures and concerts alone numbered 340,000. The average lecture audience was 350.

In the music it sponsors the Institute does not differ from Carnegie Hall in New York or Orchestra Hall in Chicago. It takes financial responsibility for bringing famous artists to the Academy of Music. Except for the accident of sponsorship by a society these concerts do not differ from any others given to large audiences at a high admission fee under the auspices of a commercial bureau. The main educational effort of the Institute is its lecture service.

Nominally, there are numerous departments, one for each branch of learning—art, history, geology, sociology, physics, etc.—but in fact there is but one, the educational department. Lectures are arranged by all of the departments, but all those scheduled under the heads of the various departments also come under the head of the educational department, which in effect is responsible for them all. Of these lectures there were some 200 in the season 1924-1925. These might be described as the program of a very good chautauqua, a popular chautauqua of the higher order—although there is no systematic reading such as the Chautauqua Institution of New York, the parent organization, has long provided. They are

diverse, not too serious, calculated to entertain as much as to enlighten, and yet not depreciated to a mere crowd appeal. Many of the lecturers—not all—are men on the professional lecture platform, giving lectures booked in the annual announcements of their respective bureaus, lectures of a specific gravity weighed in the popular scale and found not too heavy for popular consumption. In the case of some of the lecturers this may be unfair, but it is descriptive of too many. In order to be concrete a summary of the year's program is appended:

Five lectures on American statesmen (Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Lee, Lincoln) by Dr. Edward Howard Griggs.

Twelve illustrated travel lectures by Branson De Cou.

Four lectures on character psychology by David Seabury.

Four lectures on the ethics of parenthood by different medical men.

Twenty lectures on current history by Professor William Starr Myers of Princeton University.

Nine lectures on contemporary books worth reading by Carl Van Doren.

Eight lectures on current plays in New York by Dr. S. Marion Tucker, of the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute.

Three lectures on home cookery, by Emma F. Holloway, of Pratt Institute.

Ten lectures on current history by Dr. George Earle Raiguel of Philadelphia.

Three lectures—"Women as Citizens," "The Law in Relation to Children," "What Are Our Rights?"—by Reba Talbot Swain of the Women Lawyers' Association of Brooklyn.

Five opera recitals by Charlotte Lund, accompanied by N. Val Peavey, pianist and baritone.

Four lecture readings—Kipling, Tennyson, Browning.

Three lectures, with demonstrations, on the radio by Professor Frank E. Canavacioli of the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute.

Three lectures—The German View of Life, French View of Life, English View of Life—by John Cowper Powys.

Six lectures on current literature by Dr. Richard Burton of the University of Minnesota.

Five lectures on the biologist's view of life by Dr. S. C. Schmucker of the West Chester State Normal School, Pennsylvania.

Four operalogues.

Four lecture recitals (Chopin, Wagner, Dvorak, MacDowell) by Victor Biart, pianist.

Three lecture readings on poetry by Grace Hazard Conkling of Smith College.

Five lectures on "Imagination and Religion" by the Rev. S. Parkes Cadman of Brooklyn.

Three illustrated travel lectures by B. R. Baumgardt.

Three lectures—"England, France and the Future," "The Crisis in the Churches" and "George Washington" by S. K. Ratcliffe.

Five lectures on the future of internationalism by Professor Earl Barnes.

Four lectures on "Ideals and Realities in International Relations" by Professor Parker Thomas Moon of Columbia University.

Five lectures on the masterpieces of Ibsen by Dr. Edward Howard Griggs.

Three Dickens recitals by Frank Speaight.

Four lectures on life in France by Mlle. Marguerite Clément.

Three illustrated lectures on sculpture by Lorado Taft of Chicago.

Five lectures on the humor of the modern stage, illustrated from contemporary plays, by the Rev. Henry R. Ross of Newark.

Four lectures on art by Dr. Putnam Cady, F.R.G.S.

Five lectures on "Great Philosophers: Their Influence Past and Present" by Professor E. G. Spaulding of Princeton University.

Four lectures on the drama by Louis K. Anspacher.

Three lectures on "New Life in the Old East" by Dhan Gopal Mukerji.

The School of Pedagogy is designed to meet the needs of school teachers and is attended almost exclusively by school teachers. It need only be noticed therefore: by our classification it comes under the head of professional education. The courses in the School of Pedagogy are given afternoons and evenings once a week, some for twenty periods of an hour and a half and some for thirty periods of an hour. Practically all of the instructors are taken from the grammar or high schools of Brooklyn. Fees are \$5 to \$15 per course. The curriculum includes elementary and advanced French, Individual and Social Psychology, Principles of Education, Business Psychology, History, English, Drawing and Art Appreciation.

The Goodwyn Institute of Memphis, Tennessee, is an institution akin to the Brooklyn Institute, though it functions on a much smaller scale. It was established twenty years ago by a bequest in the will of William A. Goodwyn of that city. The will provided for the erection of an office building containing a library and auditorium for free public use and offices which should be rented as in any other office building. The entire endowment is invested in the building and the Institute's only income is derived from rents.

Mr. Goodwyn stipulated that the Institute "will be for instruction and not for entertainment merely" and the trustees have further elaborated this into the following statement of purpose:

"To provide a system of continued education for adults and youths along general and special lines.

"To present the best thought and the results of modern scholarship in non-technical terms.

"To afford authoritative and accurate information upon all kinds of practical and scholastic subjects.

"To stimulate more extensive reading and study.

"To arouse, encourage and inspire the young.

"To provide profitable and intellectual entertainment."

To this end there are the library and the program of lectures. The library is for reference only and is open to the public without charge. Between 100 and 125 persons use it daily. Lectures are given weekly and the auditorium, which seats 1,000, is always filled to capacity. For the benefit of those who come early in order to be sure of a seat a concert on the Duo Art piano precedes the lecture. Frequently educational moving pictures also are shown before the lecture. Sometimes, when the speaker's subject is such as to stimulate discussion questions are allowed from the audience for half an hour following the address.

The lectures are of the same type as those at the Brooklyn Institute. They are chosen from the offerings of the professional lecture bureaus, including such exceptional ones as those agencies have occasion to book. Thus General Allen, commandant of the one-time American garrison at Coblenz, talks on the European situation, and William C. Redfield, of President Wilson's Cabinet, on how the government works, and Mlle. Marguerite Clément of the University of Versailles on the French point of view in European affairs. There are frequent travel lectures: Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Patterson on the Man Eaters of Tsavo, Robert Cushman Murphy of the American Museum of Natural History on the Bird Islands of Peru and George K. Cherrie, an explorer, on his adventures in South America. There are talks on more general themes: Zoe Akins on the theater, Dr. Edward Mims of Vanderbilt University on idealism in American life and J. Malcolm Bird, editor of the *Scientific American*, on mediumistic frauds. There are also talks of the inspirational variety: Robert Parker Miles, known as the "Apostle of Sunshine," on "Tallow Dips

and Sparks," Charles H. Plattenburg, "humorist, editor, lecturer and community building expert of Iowa," on "Quit Rocking the Boat."

The same may therefore be said of this Institute as of the Brooklyn Institute.

The Peabody Institute of Baltimore was founded in 1857, also on a bequest, to provide that city with a cultural institution. Designed originally on a broader basis than the average, it has conducted since then a reference library, an art gallery and a department of music in addition to lectures. The last, however, have recently been abandoned and the art gallery also is closed for the present but will be reopened in a new building which now is being erected.

The Peabody Institute has concentrated of late on its music department. Originally this consisted only of a symphony orchestra but later a school of music was added. The Conservatory of Music has an average annual enrollment of 600, with a preparatory department in which there are between 2,500 and 3,000 pupils every year. Both differ in no wise from any similar school of music elsewhere which seeks to maintain a high standard, but must be considered in our classification as a professional school rather than an institution for adult education.

The Educational Alliance is a type of institute serving the needs of immigrants exclusively. It is situated on East Broadway in the heart of New York's East Side and is one of the larger social agencies dealing exclusively with foreign-born Jews. It was established in 1889, with the first tide of Jewish immigration, and has expanded since the tide became a flood. Four thousand men and women pass through its doors daily from nine o'clock in the morning to eleven o'clock in the evening.

The Alliance aims to serve as a foyer for immigrants entering America; its purpose is Americanization in the

uninflated, pre-war sense. Most of its educational work therefore is in English and citizenship courses like history and civics. Its work as a whole consists of classes, lectures, an open forum, concerts, plays, social entertainments, religious meetings, clubs for men and women, social and game rooms, a reading room, summer camps, a legal aid bureau and an art school. That which is purely educational falls into three divisions: classes, lectures and concerts, and the art school.

There are four classes in English for immigrants, with an aggregate enrollment of 600. There are 32 classes in the domestic arts and sciences for women, with an aggregate enrollment of 1,500. The class in citizenship numbers 450. This does not aim to do more than qualify the student to pass any reasonable test in the court of naturalization. It gives an outline of the development of American history and of the process of government in the United States, both local and national. It should not be identified, however, with what is now conventionally called Americanization. There is more of solid substance and less of empty rhetoric. As the Jewish mind is much occupied with religion and ethics, there are 120 classes a year in these subjects with an enrollment of 3,000. Religion is taken in its philosophical as much as in its denominational aspects, however. Finally, there are occasional courses to prepare men for civil service examinations.

Three or four lectures are given every week from autumn to spring. One is usually on health, one on a moral or religious question and one on a social or cultural question. The last is usually in the nature of a forum—of two forums, rather. The subject is discussed one evening in English and the next evening by the same speaker in Yiddish. No pressure is exerted on any one to come to the English forum, each individual being left to decide for himself which language is for him the best vehicle of

expression and understanding. A channel exists for passage from the native tongue to the language of his new home. It so works out in practice. Those who have been coming regularly to the Yiddish forums are found after a year or two dropping in at the other. As confidence grows they come only to the English forum.

As is to be expected from a Jewish audience, debate waxes fierce, especially on social and economic questions. Discussion turns a great deal on problems of adjustment to American social conditions: assimilation, comparative culture, the position of women, etc. Thus, there is not only the play of ideas but a means of induction into American life. These debates also lead to citation of authorities and suggestions for reading, which open up fields of study. For those desiring to study there is a reading room and library. Three hundred take advantage of it daily.

The art school was founded ten years ago by Mr. Abbo Ostrowsky for immigrants desiring an opportunity to study. Three years ago it was incorporated into the Educational Alliance. It had an enrollment last year of 186, with courses in drawing, painting, modeling, etching and batik. There are five instructors, with morning, afternoon and evening classes. For children there are classes twice a week. The tuition fee is \$12; for children instruction is free. An exhibition of the best work of the students is held every year at some large gallery. These have won considerable notice and frequent commendation in the art world. Eleven of the school's students have had their work shown at national and international exhibitions.

The Educational Alliance, under the direction of Dr. Henry Fleischmann, combines the functions of an Americanization school, a social settlement and an adult educational agency of a superior kind.

Another kind of institute is included here only for

the record and because it is a product of the same phase of social development that has given rise to those already dealt with. This is the institute for technical education. The Mechanics' Institute of New York, officially the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, which was founded in 1785, had evening classes attended by 1900 in the year 1924-1925. It has a three-year curriculum in such work as draughtsmanship, architecture, applied mathematics, design, industrial electricity, etc. Similar work is offered by the Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute of Rochester, N. Y., which adds a comprehensive course in home economics. The Maryland Institute for the Promotion of Mechanic Arts, at Baltimore, maintains a department of fine arts with a four-year curriculum. Franklin Union in Boston, Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, Pratt Institute in Brooklyn and other schools of the same kind offer similar opportunities for young men and women employed during the day. But they are all technical schools and do not concern us directly.

The Institute, then, excepting the Lowell Institute and the Educational Alliance as unique, is an organized lecture platform, bringing for the enlightenment of the public the men of the professional lecture platform. One must hesitate in generalizing on these men, for obviously they are of different orders of intellectual merit; but all are subject to the demands and limitations of the popular lecture platform—the necessity to get across to numbers. There is no discussion, there are no questions—except in isolated cases—there is no opportunity for response from the audience, there is no required preparation, there is no necessity for mental functioning on the part of those who hear. Some may react to what they have heard, some may not. There is no way of knowing. Certainly, the exercise of none of the faculties except the receptive is essential. How much there is of genuine

educational value in the lecture platform, that is, in the haphazard, unsequential, unrelated succession of lectures—Ibsen Tuesday, diet Thursday and psycho-analysis Saturday, with resultant vagueness Sunday as to Nora's part in the discovery of vitamins and Freud's contribution to the Scandinavian drama—this question need not be dogmatically answered, or answered at all. But it must be stated, and caution advised. A great deal of motion in what has the appearance of a cultural sphere does not make for progress. Motion must have direction. There is culture; and there is culturine. One comes by application and slow absorption, the other in gulps from tea-spoons. So, if there is any educational value in lecture programs of this sort, institutes educate; if not, not. More probably, not.

CHAPTER IV

INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS

THIS chapter will deal with a number of individual enterprises and experiments in adult education which have sprung up in recent years, separately and spontaneously, either as the natural product of a social situation or as the expression of a vigorous personality. They are discussed together, not because they are related to one another or even have much in common but because taken collectively they represent the development in American education which has made this study seem necessary.

These enterprises are all of recent origin, or at least that phase of them is which brings them within the scope of this study. They have arisen out of a need unmet by our public educational systems; or, if not arisen out of a conscious recognition of such a need, they have found a response that testifies there was one. Furthermore, they are not educational as incidental to some other major purpose, but designedly and exclusively institutions for teaching adults. In this chapter, then, the writer will take up the People's Institute of New York, the New School for Social Research, the Rand School of Social Sciences, the Summer School for Working Women in Industry at Bryn Mawr and a similar school at the University of Wisconsin, the summer school and evening courses of the National League of Girls' Clubs, Pocono People's College, and the Labor Temple School of New York

I

The People's Institute is the oldest of these institutions. It was founded in 1897 by a group of New York's public spirited citizens on the initiative of Charles Sprague Smith. Its original purpose was to provide a forum for the free discussion of public questions, and for the first twenty years of its existence its main functions were those of a lyceum and forum, with a few social service features. As has been told in the chapter on open forums, the Institute's Sunday evening meetings inspired the organization of the Open Forum National Council and the spread of the forum idea.

The Institute's character has been greatly modified in recent years under the directorship of Everett Dean Martin. Partly because there has been a shrinking in financial resources and partly because Mr. Martin's interests were in another direction the Institute has abandoned all of its social service activities. It is now an institution for adult education solely, with occasional concerts as its only other cultural activity, and Mr. Martin's plans tend toward development still further in the same direction.

The larger part of the Institute's program is carried on in Cooper Union, where the use of the Great Hall is granted under the broad liberal principles laid down by Peter Cooper, the founder, himself a pioneer in adult education in the United States. The Institute has no formal direct connection with Cooper Union, however, and is in no wise subject to its control. Only the lectures are given in Cooper Union. The School of the Institute has its classes in a public school building nearby.

Thus, the Institute stands on the border of that seething quarter of New York where the intermingled nationalities of Europe move restless and puzzled through the

first stages of entry on the American scene. The locale has its disadvantages manifestly, and also its advantages, not so manifest but of greater weight. These are not Americans, the hundreds who eagerly throng the broad, pillared hall of Cooper Union long before the lecture is to begin. Most of them are not even "Americanized." In discussions before them terms of reference must often be drawn from a setting still alien to them, in a language not always perfectly mastered. The adjustment to a new world which is now the very stuff of their lives must be repeated at every lecture, no negligible obstacle to the free communication indispensable to the educating process. Yet they bring with them also to the lecture hall the intellectual ferment which makes the same quarter of New York seethe with ideas as well as people. They bring also an old-world respect for learning and the things of the mind, which simplify the task of the lecturer. He need only have an idea and present it convincingly and effectively. No artifices are required to woo interest and attention.

Three evenings a week from November to May there are lectures in the Great Hall; for all of these admission is free. On Tuesday and Sunday evenings there are single lectures by different lecturers, with a symphony concert every few weeks instead of the Sunday lecture. On Friday evening Mr. Martin gives his course. These lectures are for large groups, the attendance ranging from 800 to 1,200. The School of the Institute is designed for intensive work by smaller groups, with courses in philosophy, history, psychology, biology, logic, public speaking, etc., for which a small admission fee is charged. These come on different evenings in the week, one session weekly in each course. They run throughout the season but are organized in short units of five, six or eight sessions per course. Experience in all adult educational effort has taught that the shorter unit is better. A

majority of students will take three consecutive terms of ten sessions each rather than one term of thirty sessions.

The lectures on Tuesday and Sunday evenings are by men whose work is warrant of their authority in the fields they discuss. They are seldom, if ever, professional lecturers. Their lecturing is incidental to their vocations and they are invited because they have something to contribute and only if they have something to contribute. This emphatically is no lyceum for public entertainment. A high intellectual standard has been set and unwaveringly maintained. Subjoined is the program for the first half of the season 1925-1926:

Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken—The Aim of Education.

Professor Earl Barnes—Science and Scholarship Know No State Boundaries.

Dr. Daniel H. Kulp—Propaganda and the Democratic Myth in Education.

Dr. George A. Dorsey—The Evolution of Man.

Dr. Nathan Krass—Trying to See the Other Side.

Dhan Gopal Mukerji—Ethical Changes in India.

Concert by the American Orchestral Society.

Professor Ernest R. Groves—Education and Social Progress.

Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser—Science and Humanity: What Science Can Do for Us.

Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser—Science and Humanity: What Science Cannot Do.

Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser—Science and Humanity: What Science Has Done for Us.

Dr. Charles Fleischer—The Equality Complex.

Professor Alfred Zimmern—Internationalism and Education.

Dr. Houston Peterson—The Huxley Family.

John Cowper Powys—Four World Poets. I.—Homer.

John Cowper Powys—Four World Poets. II.—Dante.

Dr. Emanuel Sternheim—New Educational Ideals.

Dr. Jerome Davis—Is the Profit Machine Indispensable?

Nathaniel Peffer—Contrasting Ideals of Civilization.

Dr. Joseph Jastrow—The Psychology of Superstition.
Concert by the American Orchestral Society.

Nels Anderson—The Sociology of the Homeless Man.

Professor William P. Montague—The Theistic Hypothesis.

Dr. Karl Reiland—What We Expect of Education.

John Cowper Powys—Four World Poets. III.—Shakespeare.

John Cowper Powys—Four World Poets. IV.—Goethe.

Norman Angell—Will Human Nature Now Destroy Human Society?

Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg—Science and a Democracy.

Professor Edward A. Ross—Is the World Growing Better or Worse?

Dr. Hugh S. Taylor—From Test Tubes to Living Things.

Dr. Charles R. Stockard—What We Have Learned of the Heredity and Development of the Organism.

Dr. Walter H. Eddy—What We Have Learned of the Nutrition of the Organism.

Dr. William A. White—The Adjustment and Unity of the Organism.

The most important work of the Institute, however, and that which marks it as distinctive is the course by Mr. Martin on Friday evening. This is a series of 24 to 28 connected lectures dealing with a single subject. The subject is not easy to label, as it does not lend itself to rigid college departmentalization. It cannot be called patly psychology, sociology or philosophy. All three fields may be traversed, and sometimes others. What Mr. Martin tries is to interrelate those divisions of knowledge in their application to the problem he is discussing for the year. But he is himself a social psychologist and primarily his courses take that point of departure.

In content and standard they are comparable to advanced college work, but only in those respects. Here are no credits, no examinations, no required attendance. All of those who come to Cooper Union on Friday eve-

ning are there because they want to be and stay only because they are interested. If they are not, they do not come again. As a matter of fact, while no statistics have been taken it can be said that from half to two-thirds attend regularly throughout the course and approximately a third have attended previous years' courses. It is continuous education, though without compulsive machinery. Also, while there are no "required readings" a working bibliography is given out at the beginning of the year. It is stiff reading, such as would be assigned only advanced college students—illustrations will be given later—but that it is not entirely unread, though voluntarily, is evident from the result.

A thousand men and women who have come from a hard day's work and whose opportunities for leisure are scant are held in unbroken attention for an hour and frequently longer, listening to the elaboration of an abstract idea. Feet do not shift or eyes wander or faces grow blank. One has only to sit on an aisle and scan the rows of faces on each side to be convinced that the speaker is being followed with interest and every sign of understanding. At the close of the lecture those who cannot or do not wish to wait for the question period are requested to retire to the rear of the hall, so that they may leave without disturbing the others. A score or two go. The others remain, and there follows half an hour or more of keen fencing. Hands flash out simultaneously all over the house. The more eager leap to their feet for recognition. Question follows question until, at ten o'clock when the lights must be turned out, a dozen are still clamoring to challenge the speaker. They are keen questions, in nine cases out of ten penetrating, fortified with information and relevant to the discussion, even when pointed with propaganda, as they often are, of course, in an audience numbering so large a proportion of extreme radicals. Many questions are only the casual

popping up out of individual interest. But as many are the sustained pressing of a point of view which has been debated between Mr. Martin and the questioners before as issues have been unfolded and will be debated again as the issues are further developed. It is a stimulating half hour, in an atmosphere of sharp intellectual play. Not only in responsiveness but in degree of sophistication it is at least on a level with an advanced university class.

The explanation is not wholly to be found in the qualities brought by the students. In adult education as much as in the formal schooling of youth the determining element in the final result is the quality of the teaching. If there is any difference, it is that in adult classes the demands on teaching are even more exacting. These are students by no compulsion. They have not the fear of parental discipline to hold them to their desks. Obedience is no longer a habit. Other claims on time and attention distract them—family, friends, amusements, worries. In the vast majority, they have not a background or habit of study, sometimes not even of schooling. Most of all, the resistance of fatigue must be overcome. Adults work. They work under the exhausting pressure of the American industrial system. And in the case of those of the social class represented at the People's Institute and similar centers insecurity, improper housing, insufficient leisure and sometimes even malnutrition are added to fatigue as the handicaps the economic system lays on them in any activity not dictated by economic necessity.

It is not easy to induce such men and women to give of their scanty leisure for education that will not benefit them directly by increasing their earning capacity. And if they do come to class room or lecture hall it is still less easy to hold them. They will be induced to come again only if they are vitally interested. Now, that alone is

not an insuperable obstacle. Men can be held if they are entertained, and the capacity to entertain is not rare. The real task of the teacher of adults is to present his material without dilution or compromise, without "talking down," and yet be interesting and understandable. No special talents are required to "jazz up" psychology, for instance. A hundred lecturers touring the country do it regularly and fill their auditoriums and their pocket-books. But to take psychology or economics or philosophy or literature and give it substance without sugar-coating and in such a way as to keep adult students coming of their own volition and because they are interested and in spite of the moving picture theater, the radio and their friends—that requires teaching of the highest order. For, remember, the high school boy must come to his 8:30 and stay there, however much he may hate it or be bored by it, often with reason. He cannot cut without losing credit and incurring parental wrath. But the garment worker or plumber or shipping clerk can walk out if he wants to, and if he is bored he does. The teacher who essays such a class submits himself to the severest pedagogical test. And unless he is endowed with the right qualities, he finds himself at the third or fourth session in an empty class room. That, it may be observed, happens not infrequently in adult education experiments.

Mr. Martin, however, is endowed with those qualities, and therein lies the explanation of the success of the People's Institute. His course in psychology in 1924-1925 has subsequently been issued in book form and is now accepted as a standard work. Without regard to whether its position on moot points is endorsed by this or that school of psychologists, in point of scholarship it is unexceptionable. It was in fact selected by the American Library Association as one of the twenty-five significant books of the year and is being used as a college text.

Yet, though authoritative as science, it is comprehensible to the layman willing to apply himself; and when given as lectures at the People's Institute the course not only was understood but followed with eagerness and a positive response. So also with Mr. Martin's other courses. They have involved much discussion and analysis of philosophy, history and psychology. Indeed, they may be described as the philosophy of history applied to broad contemporary problems and interpreted in the light of modern psychology. In subject matter they are always difficult, even heavy, and no effort is made to thin out the substance; but they are always made interesting, even to men and women unused to grappling with abstract ideas. As a result, many of these men and women have become accustomed to dealing with abstract ideas. Again and again a question rises from the floor which reveals at least an understanding reading of Aristotle, Erasmus, Hegel, Nietzsche, William James, John Dewey and other authorities cited in the suggested readings.

The courses given by Mr. Martin since 1918 are:

1918-19—Democracy in the Light of Psychology.

1919-20—Dreams of a Social Redemption: A Psychological Study of Ideal Commonwealths.

1920-21—Nietzsche and the Spirit of Today: A Course in Social Philosophy.

1921-22—Human Nature in Modern Civilization: A Course in Social Psychology.

1922-23—The New Liberalism: A Study in the Changing Outlook in Social Philosophy.

1923-24—Psychology: What It Has to Teach You About Yourself and the World You Live In.

1924-25—The Great Mass Movements of History: A Psychological Study.

1925-26—What Is Worth Knowing: A Course on the Meaning of a Liberal Education.

Mr. Martin's lectures have been published in three volumes. "Psychology" (People's Institute Publishing

Company) has already been mentioned. The others are "The Behavior of Crowds" (Harper and Brothers) and "The Mystery of Religion" (Harper and Brothers). The latter is based on a series delivered at the School of the Institute.

It may be interesting to look at the syllabus of one or two of the courses.

Following are the titles of the lectures in the course, The Great Mass Movements of History:

Introduction.

The Mass and the Problem of Civilization.

Psychology and the Materialistic Conception of History.

What Have the Mass Movements Accomplished in the Past?

The Class Struggle in Ancient Rome—What Did It Accomplish?

Primitive Christianity as a Mass Movement.

The Psychology of Social Unrest in the Middle Ages.

Crowd Psychology and the Crusades.

Was the Renaissance a Mass Movement?

Luther vs. Erasmus in the Reformation: An Issue That Still Lives.

The Mass and the Puritan Revolution in England.

Psychology and the French Revolution.

Revolutionary New England.

The Psychology of War.

Mass Movements in Present Day America.

The Psychological Problem of "Mass Action."

To What Extent Is Oppression a Cause of Social Revolt?

To What Extent Is the Protest against the Feeling of Inferiority a Cause of Social Unrest?

The Psychology of Hero Worship.

How Faithful Are Mass Movements to Their Ideas?

The Psychology of Rumor, Myth and Legend.

How Large a Proportion of the Population Spontaneously Participate in Any Mass Movement?

The Influence of Mass Action on Culture.

How Can the Condition of the Masses Be Improved?

The Role of the Mass in Social Advance.

Following are the titles of the lectures in the course,
The Meaning of a Liberal Education:

Is the Present Demand for Education Another Popular Delusion?

Liberal Education versus Animal Training.

Liberal Education versus Propaganda.

Liberal Education versus "Book Learning"—Is Education Something One Can "Get" in an Institution?

Is There Such a Thing as Class Education?

Can Education and Democracy Both Exist in the Same Country?

The Educational Value of Doubt.

Liberal Education and the Habit of Self-Criticism.

The Appreciation of Human Worth.

The Free Spirit.

Can an Educated Person Be Religious?

Education and Work.

Education and Morals.

Plato's Philosophy of Education.

What Aristotle Meant by Education.

The Education of Erasmus—A Lecture on Humanism.

Montaigne as a Type of Educated Man.

Nietzsche and the Problem of Education.

Culture and Anarchy—A Lecture on Matthew Arnold and Nineteenth Century Liberalism.

Science and Superstition—A Lecture on Thomas H. Huxley.

Can Intelligence Accomplish Anything?

Does Knowledge Bring Happiness?

A Man Is Known by the Dilemma He Keeps.

The Aims of Adult Education in America.

As an illustration of the reading that is desired of those who take Mr. Martin's course is the following bibliography for the course just outlined:

The Republic, Plato.

Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle.

The Colloquies, Erasmus.

- The History of Education, Thomas Davidson.
On Liberty, John Stuart Mill.
What Is It to Be Educated? C. H. Henderson.
What Is Education? C. S. Moore.
Science and Education, Thomas H. Huxley.
Culture and Anarchy, Matthew Arnold.
Talks to Teachers on Some of Life's Ideals, William James.
Education, Herbert Spencer.
The Idea of a University, John Henry Newman.
Democracy and Leadership, Irving Babbitt.
Education, the Worker and the Machine, Horace M. Kallen.
Democracy and Education, John Dewey.
Shackled Youth, Edward Yeomans.
The Future of Our Educational Institutions, Friedrich Nietzsche.
The Living Universe, L. P. Jacks.

You look over the prospectus of the course and the suggested readings and then drop in at Cooper Union on a Friday evening; and if you have not had much experience as an observer of adult education you are struck with the apparent incongruity. For you see about you the faces and the garb of working men and working women: Jews from the needle trades and small shops, immigrants and the children of immigrants; others, not Jews, with hands roughened by manual labor; shipping clerks and bookkeepers and office workers of the white collar class; some who are higher up in the financial scale and also a few who are of the crank type, the mentally unadjusted to be found in any large city. In the mass they do not differ in appearance from the mass on the subway reading the tabloid newspapers and the "confession" magazines. You do not associate them with interest in Plato's educational philosophy and the works of Erasmus. Yet the facts reconcile the incongruity.

They do come to hear an analysis of the psychology of primitive Christianity, the social forces behind the Renaissance and the intellectualism of Montaigne, and,

liking it, come again and repeatedly. They seek to go further. Because enough of them wanted an opportunity for more intensive work than is possible in a lecture hall with an audience of a thousand, the School of the Institute was started with facilities for smaller classes, and well attended classes are held three or four times a week. One year a committee came to Mr. Martin and asked his help in securing a meeting room where a small group could gather and discuss thoroughly the ideas set forth in his Friday lectures. Most indicative are the cases of individuals who first came to Cooper Union casually, even accidentally, found something to attract them the first evening, came again, were awakened to a desire for learning and have since become competent students—if not scholars, at least men capable of dealing logically with ideas. They may not all read Hegel and William James—some of them do—but they do read the reviews instead of, as it might otherwise still be, the popular magazines. And whatever they read, it is with discrimination and a critical sense. But after all there is no incongruity in the fact that those who partake in an educational effort of this character are of the working class and the economically disadvantaged. To one who has seen much of adult education in this country it would be more incongruous if they had come in Cadillacs. On the basis of such efforts in adult education as exist in this country now the generalization is valid that the more substantial and scholarly efforts will find their support and their following in the economically lower classes and the foreign-born.

The School of the Institute developed logically out of the work at Cooper Union. The latter is mass education. It is mass education at its best, but the function of mass education is restricted. It can give broad backgrounds, arouse intellectual curiosity and plot the lines for further study. A lecture course addressed to a thousand persons

and covering a broad field, even when organized in sequence and as ably as Mr. Martin's, can make no provision for individual needs or explore every corner of the field. The School of the Institute was started therefore in order to provide smaller classes on specialized subjects.

The courses at the School all come in the evening. Usually four are offered on different evenings of the week, each having one session weekly. As has been said before, they are organized in short series, from six to ten lectures. Frequently, however, two or three series are given consecutively, like French I and French II in a college curriculum. One may enroll for a whole course or come to single lectures. A charge of 25 cents per lecture is made, with a reduction for enrollment in the whole series. In practice, most of those who attend take the whole course, as all the lectures are interrelated. While the lecture method of presentation is followed, there is more discussion than at Cooper Union, questions and discussion being permitted during and after the lectures. Also, since these are more highly specialized courses, more preparation is expected, though no "entrance requirements" are stipulated. As it works out, those who come to the classes in the School have had more training. They are, on the whole, the more studious of those who go to the Cooper Union lectures. And, unless they have had some training or do much hard reading while taking the work, they get little out of it. Students at the School include many who are not regular attendants at Cooper Union; but the latter form the nucleus. What the classes lack in picturesqueness of atmosphere they make up in soundness of work done. Professor E. G. Spaulding of Princeton University, who has frequently conducted classes, presents the same material as to his seniors at Princeton and he has written that the students at the School of the Institute are not behind those of the university in capacity to assimilate the mate-

rial. The discussions, he writes, are excellent and show that references assigned for reading have been studied and in many cases mastered. Others who have taught there would find a comparison with college classes favorable to the School. When Professor Wolfgang Koehler came from Germany to serve as special lecturer at Harvard and Clark Universities he consented also to give the psychology course at the School of the Institute for the first two terms of the 1925-1926 season. His presentation of the Gestalt theory attracted more than a hundred to his class, and his theory drew active and sustained controversy, to his evident enjoyment, it may be added. After a prolonged session, in which exposition was followed by numerous questions and much debating, a circle gathered about him on the rostrum and the lecture was informally and Socratically continued until the lights were to be turned out.

A typical term, that of November and December, 1925, had the following courses:

Logic—Professor E. G. Spaulding of Princeton University.

Psychology—Dr. Wolfgang Koehler.

History—The Byzantine Civilization—Dr. W. L. Westermann, Professor of History at Columbia University.

Public Speaking—Professor John Mantle Clapp of New York University.

Of these all but Dr. Westermann's were continued in the next term.

Other courses which have been given at the School are:

Philosophy—Fundamental Tendencies in Modern Philosophy and Science—Professor Spaulding.

History—Hellenism—Professor Westermann.

Biology—Pseudo-Science and Politics—John Langdon-Davies, formerly of Oxford University.

Modern Literature—Dr. W. D. Howe, editor of Scribner's and Sons.

Philosophy—The Doctrines of Havelock Ellis—Houston Peterson, Instructor in Philosophy at Columbia University.

The substance of such a course may be illustrated by the topical outlines of Professor Spaulding's Logic, in eleven lectures:

Origins in Greek Thought: Early Logicians and Their Problems.

The Complete Formulation of This Logic; the Categorical Syllogism; The Logic of Usual Discourse.

The Hypothetical and Disjunctive Syllogisms; The Logic of Hypotheses and Possibilities.

The Dilemma; Fallacies; Getting the Better of Your Opponent.

How This Logic Was Used in the Middle Ages and in Modern Philosophy; the Church, Descartes, Kant.

The Origins of Modern Logic in Greek Thought; Age-old Logical Puzzles.

The Development of Modern Logic; Order, Infinity, Continuity, Dimensions, Space, Time.

The Logic of Logic; Relations; What Does It Mean When One "Thing" is related to Another?

The Logic of the Natural Sciences: I—Mechanics, Physics.

The Logic of the Natural Sciences: II—Chemistry, Biology; Is Everything Logical?

Interpretations of the Nature of Logic; Idealism, Pragmatism, Realism; Is Logic an Invention or a Discovery?

Enrollment in the classes of the School ranges from 40 to 100, occasionally more. The school is expanding steadily, in the number of classes and students alike; so much so, that Dr. Scott Buchanan has been made assistant director of the Institute, with supervision over the School, in order that it may have more personal attention. It is Mr. Martin's desire to have the Institute's future development wholly in the direction of more systematic instruction to smaller groups. More courses can be offered, more students enrolled and greater in-

ducement held out to the best teachers and lecturers. The field is there and the need has been demonstrated; only the resources are lacking. Compensation for instructors is an important consideration. At present most of those at the School must take the largest part of their reward in the consciousness of good works. Their reward in material form is meager. Before the School can expand further, while holding to its present level, more resources must be available. In the fiscal year ending October 31, 1925, the Institute was forced to operate on a budget of less than \$30,000, which included fees for lecturers at Cooper Union, instructors at the School and the salaries of the director and his administrative staff.

Monetary considerations hold in abeyance, also, the next logical step. Mr. Martin's lectures give the broad background and the stimulus. The School's classes meet the need for specialized interests. But even in classes of forty and fifty there is no opportunity for the close personal association from which alone the result we call education emerges. Smaller groups with individual guidance are necessary—tutorial groups of five or six or less meeting around a table to thresh out ideas. If the Institute had the means there would be no more difficulty in finding students for such groups than there was for the School. In fact, students have already asked Mr. Martin for such an opportunity. The opportunity and the human material are there; the means are not. When the latter are available a complete, logically organized and evolved institution of adult education will be working in all the processes of education. As it is even now, the People's Institute may be called a mature educational enterprise for adults and a clear demonstration that adult education has its place in the social scheme—that there can be adult education, if under the proper auspices, and that it is of immeasurable benefit when under the proper auspices.

II

THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

The New School for Social Research, in New York City, is one of the more noteworthy crystallizations against the deadening levelization of higher education in the United States. It was launched in 1919, in the full tide of post-war disenchantment, when education was not the only institution to come in for candid examination and destructive criticism. It was to be a deliberate experiment in higher education without a campus, costly and pretentious buildings, administrative hierarchies and all the complex machinery and impedimenta that now weight down the American university. Further, it was to be an experiment in higher education for adults.

The New School was to be—and is—an educational institution consisting of rooms in which to seat classes, a library in which to keep books for use, and teachers and students; that is all: no set and unvarying curriculum, no formal entrance requirements, no examinations, no credits, no degrees, no prescribed and fixed method of instruction and, certainly, no alumni, no sentimental traditions and no “spirit.” It has given no hostages to mass opinion which compel it to deflect energy and financial resources from the proper purposes of an educational institution to maintain athletic establishments and other forms of advertising ostentation. The New School is a place to teach and a place to learn and no more. It need accept no responsibility, therefore, besides guaranteeing that its instructors are intellectually and scholastically qualified and that the subjects they offer are of importance to one seeking an understanding of the world he inhabits. A student who takes a course comes if he wishes; if not, not; listens if he is interested; if not, not;

does the reading advised if he is energetic enough; if not, not. A student old enough to enroll in the New School is assumed to be mature.

The work of the New School is centered on the social sciences. As expressed in the first announcement, the purpose of the school was "to seek an unbiased understanding of the existing order, its genesis, growth and present working, as well as of those exigent circumstances which are making for its revision." As amplified in a subsequent publication: "Its central field of research is that of the social sciences and its point of view is that of intellectual liberalism, seeking to understand existing institutions and institutional trends rather than to defend them or to subject them to destructive criticism." This policy has been carried out without any "strict constructionism." When courses outside the social sciences have been available and appeared worth while they have been offered.

The catalogue of the School sets forth the principles on which its methods are based:

"It was recognized by the founders of the New School that research in the social sciences, to be most fruitful, should be carried on in connection with instruction. The class-room test, like the test of publication, works to check undue specialization and preoccupation with remote and recondite interests. This is especially the case when the class is composed of persons of mature intelligence, prompt to subject the material set before them to the criterion of relevance to large social purposes. The School therefore aims to draw to its lecture rooms, not primarily young men and women who find themselves in the college stage of development, but persons of maturity with an intellectual interest, graduates of colleges engaged in the professions or in business, and men and women who by reading and discussion have prepared themselves for the serious study of social problems.

"Until recently these educational needs were hardly recognized at all; even now the work of supplying them is in an

experimental stage. But it has come to be widely understood that the process of systematic education can not be permitted to end with the college years. It is impossible for the mind of man to stand still; either it grows or it decays. Probably the next great step forward in education will come through the multiplication of institutions adapted to meeting this need for continuous systematic instruction in the post-college years."

The New School occupies an old-fashioned building in the less modernized Chelsea quarter of New York, thus giving it a fairly central location without an extreme rental. Classes come in the late afternoon and evening—5:20 to 6:50 and 8:20 to 9:50—since most of the students are occupied during the day. There is one class a week in each course. The year is divided into two terms, a fall term of eighteen to twenty weeks and a spring term of twelve weeks. The tuition fee is \$20 for the longer term and \$15 for the shorter. Teaching is primarily by the lecture method, though time is left at the conclusion of the lecture for discussion. While there is a board of trustees its powers are restricted to determination of general institutional policy. Educational policy and program are left to faculty and students. The latter may suggest courses and ask for certain instructors. If they wish to organize a course on their own initiative they may do so and, unless circumstances prevent, the School will provide the facilities and the instructor.

The enrollment for the school year 1924-1925 was 1,500; in the fall term 1,000 and in the spring term 500, of whom 200 had taken work in the previous term. The enrollment in individual classes runs from 25 to 125, depending on the popularity of the subject and the reputation of the instructor. An analysis of the 1,000 students in the fall term shows that two-thirds were women, more than two-thirds were American-born and a third had been enrolled in the New School before. The first

fact is significant but not unique. The pursuit of culture in the secure classes in this country is a feminine occupation, almost a feminine monopoly. The American male is given to getting on financially. In his leisure he joins fraternal bodies or plays golf, according to his means. The New School, as will be seen, is attended by those of the more secure classes. The preponderance of the American-born must be emphasized, since it is exceptional in New York, where the foreign-born, Jews in particular, fill a disproportionately large role in adult education. The third fact is significant also as indicating that the New School is an agency of continuing education rather than successive lecture courses.

A majority of the New School's students have had some formal academic training. Of the 1,000 students in the term under examination:

292 had college degrees.

84 had higher degrees.

75 had professional degrees.

155 were graduates of some kind of training school.

169 had had some kind of college work.

Out of 1,000, then, 775 had had academic training: again, unique in adult education in and about New York.

Their occupations are—as might be expected—in the professional and semi-professional fields:

Executives	60
Doctors, lawyers	59
Students	58
Social workers, nurses	189
Teachers	162
Office workers, librarians	142
In business	53
Research workers, accountants, statisticians.....	42
Occupation unreported	101

The remainder were engineers, draughtsmen, writers, ministers, etc. Only six wrote themselves down as wage earners.

We have, then, in the first five classifications—executives, doctors and lawyers, students, social workers and nurses, teachers—528, or more than half. Adding office workers and librarians, research workers, accountants and statisticians, we have 713 or more than 70%. It is a student body preponderantly of professional workers, with previous academic training and of the upper stratum socially and financially—even in the case of teachers, compared with the workers of the type we have found in other adult education efforts discussed.

What work is done by these students to carry out in the concrete aims of the School? This is best shown by citing the curriculum of some recent terms.

Autumn, 1924-1925

Behavior Psychology: Dr. John B. Watson, formerly of Johns Hopkins University.

Mental Hygiene: Dr. Frankwood Williams, medical director, National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

Habit Training in Children: Dr. Douglas A. Thom, Harvard Medical School.

Mental Hygiene—Problems of Childhood: Dr. Bernard Glueck, director, Mental Hygiene Department, New York School of Social Work.

The Technique of Influencing Human Behavior: Harry A. Overstreet, head of the Department of Philosophy, City College of New York.

Introduction to Social Psychology: Everett Dean Martin, Director, People's Institute, New York.

Personality Development: William I. Thomas, formerly of Sociology Department, University of Chicago.

Dominant Ideals of Western Civilization: Horace M. Kallen, formerly of Philosophy Departments, Harvard and Wisconsin Universities.

Beauty and Use: Mr. Kallen.

Changes in the Religious Behavior and Attitudes of American Groups: Mr. Kallen.

Theories of Evolution and Progress from Herbert Spencer to Bertrand Russell: A. A. Goldenweiser, formerly lecturer in Anthropology, Columbia University.

Racial Groups in Greater New York: Mr. Goldenweiser.

Principles of Political Economy: David Friday, former president, Michigan Agricultural College.

American Agriculture: Mr. Friday.

The Labor Movement in the National Life: Leo Wolman, formerly of the Department of Economics, Johns Hopkins University.

Statistical Method: Frederick R. Macaulay, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Theory and Practice in "New Schools": J. K. Hart, associate editor, *The Survey*.

The Art of the Theater: Stark Young, dramatic critic, *The New Republic*.

Spring, 1925

Religion and Its Philosophies: H. M. Kallen.

Twelve Plays of the Season: Stark Young.

Racial Groups in Greater New York: A. A. Goldenweiser.

Problems of American Labor: Leo Wolman.

A Survey of Capitalistic Economy: Alvin S. Johnson, Director, *The New School*.

Problem Children: Dr. Bernard Glueck.

The Future of Prices and Interest Rates: David Friday.

Architecture in American Civilization: Lewis Mumford, author of "Sticks and Stones" and "The Story of Utopias."

Crime and Punishment: A. A. Goldenweiser.

Problems of Psychopathology: Dr. Frankwood Williams.

Beauty and Use: H. M. Kallen.

Dominant Ideals of Western Civilization: H. M. Kallen.

Psychological Problems of Social Reconstruction: Everett Dean Martin.

Principles of Political Economy: David Friday.

The Business Cycle: Frederick R. Macaulay.

Formation of Racial and National Character: William I. Thomas.

Primitive Life: A. A. Goldenweiser.

Science and Contemporary Thought: Morris R. Cohen, Professor of Philosophy, City College of New York.

Autumn, 1925-1926

Problems of Contemporary Philosophy: Professor Morris R. Cohen.

Religion and Its Philosophies: H. M. Kallen.

Dominant Ideals of Western Civilization: H. M. Kallen.

Beauty and Use: H. M. Kallen.

Psychological Problems of Social Reconstruction: Everett Dean Martin.

Mental Hygiene: Dr. Frankwood Williams.

Personality and Behavior Difficulties of Childhood: Dr. Ira S. Wile, Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York City.

Technique of Vocational Guidance: Arthur Frank Payne, Associate in Educational Sociology, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Psychological Foundations of Behavior: William I. Thomas.

The Races of Man: A. A. Goldenweiser.

Neo-Evolutionism: A Theory of Social Change: A. A. Goldenweiser.

Seminar in Crime and Punishment: A. A. Goldenweiser.

The Statistical Study of Social Phenomena: Alfred J. Lotka, of Statistical Research Staff, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

The Forecasting of Business and Investment Conditions: Frederick R. Macaulay.

The Labor Movement in the National Life: Leo Wolman.

The Evolution of Man: Dr. George A. Dorsey, formerly Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago, author, "Why We Behave Like Human Beings."

Psychology: The Problem of Gestalt: Dr. Wolfgang Koehler, Berlin.

The Theatrical Season: Stark Young.

Contemporary Literature: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, formerly Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature, Columbia University.

Architecture in American Civilization: Lewis Mumford.

American Writers: A series of lectures by American writers and critics.

Among others who have conducted courses at the New School are Norman Angell, Charles A. Beard, Robert W. Bruere, John Dewey, Felix Frankfurter, John A. Hobson, Julian Huxley, Wesley C. Mitchell, Roscoe Pound, James Harvey Robinson, Thorstein Veblen, Graham Wallas.

The New School, it will be seen, goes to authority for its teaching personnel. Its instructors are all men of academic recognition. This is not to say, however, that there is any deliberate effort to be recondite or to exclude all but the specialist. To the contrary, any such aim is specifically repudiated. The School seeks the professional student who wishes to remain in touch with the movement of ideas in his field or get a broader background of theory, and from him the best results will be obtained because he has a direct motive in coming and he brings to his classes material from his own experience; but it seeks no less the intelligent man and woman who are not professional in any field but wish to keep abreast of the swift tide of modern thought. For both classes authority is indispensable, but for the latter it is necessary that the idiom of instruction be comprehensible to the non-specialist. Expression has been given to this policy by Alvin S. Johnson, director of the School, in one of the School publications:

"The main requirement of a post-college educational institution—and indeed it is the only indispensable one—is a small body of able teachers selected with special reference to this kind of work," he writes. "They must be men who can speak the layman's language and understand his interests. They

must have unimpeachable academic standing as men who not only recognize the academic canons of exactitude and adequacy but who also are able to carry on and direct productive scholarship. Such a group of qualified teachers is needed to give a solid core to the work of the institution."

This requirement the New School has met. Its teaching force has always been academically unimpeachable and in practice successful. There has been little difficulty in filling classes and the fact that one-third of the students in one term enroll for another is evidence that students consider themselves repaid for time, effort and expense. To be sure, a large proportion of them will have been only passive participants, having come, listened, swallowed whole and gone. But in the majority they will have listened and also read and digested, they will have added to their store of knowledge and understanding. The School has not yet been able to attain the same degree of success in research, however—in the productive scholarship of which Mr. Johnson speaks. It has been difficult to organize small groups for intensive study and research; difficult not only because of the inertia of all human beings, complicated here by the fact that these are individuals who have worked all day, but because of the disadvantages under which the School labors. Such facilities as it has have always been extended to such groups, and special efforts have been made to encourage their formation. But more than encouragement is required. Money also is necessary. In this respect the New School, like most other adult education projects, is handicapped. It must operate on a budget of some \$55,000 a year, of which nearly half must come from student fees. Its classes therefore can not fall below a certain number. The organization of seminar groups is expensive, both in administration and instruction. A large surplus is necessary before the School can provide instruction or even a group discussion leader

for five or six, much less six instructors for six seminar groups. Until, therefore, the School has an endowment or some other assurance of a permanent surplus beyond the sum necessary for the maintenance of classes, it can attempt this only sporadically. Not until then can it realize its full ideal—a large student body in classes, actively participating in the development of ideas in each course, and out of that body the few outstanding creative minds selected for special, advanced and pioneering work in scholarship. But though the realization of its whole ideal is still before it, the New School for Social Research has already demonstrated that there is a place for an educational institution of its kind. It is, indeed, an institution for the education of adults.

III

THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

The Rand School, in New York City, is an institution of a special kind. It describes itself frankly as "an educational auxiliary of the socialist and labor movement" and orders its work accordingly. Yet this does not set it apart so much as is implied. The Rand School is more than a medium for the propagation of socialistic doctrine and a training school for partisan workers. It continues thus to explain itself:

"The primary functions of the Rand School are—first, to offer the general public the best opportunities for study of the aims, principles and methods of the Labor Movement in both the economic and political fields; and, second, to give to participants in that movement such instruction and training as will make them more efficient workers for the emancipation of Labor.

"Courses in sociology, history, economics and politics, with

special reference to socialism, trade unionism and labor problems, together with courses in English and public speaking and parliamentary law, occupy the leading position in the Rand School's program. In addition to these, however, there are courses in psychology, natural science, philosophy, literature drama, music and other cultural subjects."

The position of the Rand School is substantially this: The premise underlying its purpose, policy and instruction—its very *raison d'être*—is its belief in the inadequacy of the present social order and the superiority of a social order based on collectivism. But special pleading is not enforced on its instructors or even desired of them. They are expected to examine both sides of every question in a spirit of scientific inquiry and intellectual freedom. Not all of them do, of course; the degree of bias will vary with the personal equation. But the directors of the Rand School would say that it always does in education and in the Rand School no more than in a state or privately endowed university. They would say that the only distinction is that the Rand School acts on the premise that the present social order is open to successful challenge while more conventional institutions act on the premise that no challenge is possible or permissible—and that the Rand School has adopted its premise consciously and stated it openly. How far that which is given at the Rand School is education and how far propaganda cannot be set down with any exactness; certainly not without going into the question how far propaganda is inherent in any process of education, that is, whether it is at all possible to communicate facts without giving some bent to the pupil's ideas. To open this question would take us too far afield and into terra incognita. Suffice it that the Rand School is definitely radical in its policy and general aims.

The Rand School has been engaged in adult education on its own lines for twenty years. It was founded in

1906 on a trust fund given by Mrs. Carrie Rand and her daughter, Mrs. Carrie Rand Herron. Subsequently practically all of the capital was withdrawn and the School has since been compelled to pay its expenses from tuition fees and contributions from radical organizations, labor bodies and individual sympathizers. In recent years its financial problems have been serious, but it always has had a large enrollment. Although it was one of the first efforts at organized working class education, it won a clientele from the beginning and has seen it increase steadily. From an original enrollment of 250 in 1906 it has grown to an average of 2,000 a year.

The School is elastic in its methods. It deliberately avoids over-organization. There can hardly be said to be any terms. Courses may start at any time in the year and continue for different periods, some four weeks and some twenty-eight weeks. The average is twelve sessions, one a week. Practically all courses are given in the evening; a few are scheduled for Saturday afternoon. In addition to the courses there is always a large number of single lectures, open to students and the public, arranged as occasions and public questions arise. The tuition fee averages 25 cents per session. The director of the School is Algernon Lee, a well known figure in the Socialist party in New York. Most of the instructors also are men prominent in the activities of the left wing in New York. Exception is made for instructors in science and literature.

The year 1924-1925 opened with some forty courses scheduled. Nearly as many more were added during the year, some of which were repetitions and some new. Seventeen of the forty courses beginning in October and November were in the social sciences, eighteen were in the category described as science, literature and art and

the remainder in the English language, English composition and debating.

In the category of the social sciences were the following:

The History of Mankind and Theoretical Economics, both by Algernon Lee; Current History, Dynamic Sociology, Applied Sociology and Current Opinion, all by Scott Nearing; Modern World History, American Social History, Descriptive Economics and Fundamentals of Socialism, all by David P. Berenberg; Elements of Social Progress and Sex and Society, both by August Claessens, and Theories of Cultural Progress, by Alexander A. Goldenweiser. There were also three seminars. One was on Social Theories and Movements, with twenty-eight sessions of an hour and a half, at each of which one student was assigned to introduce the subject of the session in a short paper, which was followed by discussion. The sessions were usually presided over by Algernon Lee and the discussion was guided by him. The subject matter of the course was similar in nature to Bertrand Russell's "Proposed Roads to Freedom." The two other seminars, of fourteen and twelve sessions respectively, were: Social Theories and Movements and Social Recreation. They were less advanced in content and only members of the Young People's Socialist League were eligible to enroll.

In the category of science, literature and art came such courses as: Our Expanding Universe, by Clement Wood; Physiology and Hygiene, by Dr. Morris H. Kahn, and Heredity and Eugenics, also by Dr. Kahn; Psychoanalysis, by A. A. Goldenweiser; two courses in general psychology, by Margaret Daniels, and another treated from the psychological point of view, How We Study, also by Miss Daniels. Series of lectures on literature and drama were presented by Carl Van Doren, Johan J. Smertenko, Sherwood Anderson, Clement Wood, Alger-

non Lee, Louis Untermeyer. Two courses in music, lectures with illustrations on the piano, were given by Herman Epstein: With the Great Composers and The Ring of the Nibelungen.

The method of conducting classes varies with the subject and the instructor. In some there is a question period after the lecture, in others there are recitation periods. In some outside reading is required and in nearly all it is expected. There is no danger of classes dragging here. The students of the Rand School are all radicals and young, most of them in the early and middle twenties. In New York City that means almost wholly foreign-born and in the great majority Jewish. And where there are Jewish students there is no somnolence; perhaps there is even the other extreme, too much so. At any rate Jews have a passionate interest in ideas and in argumentation and a hunger for learning. They may lack intellectual poise, particularly the elements in the needle trades and allied industries from which so many students in adult education are drawn in New York City; but they also have intellectual interests and they make a class go. They are good raw material for education. The product may perhaps be better where the forces shaping the material are more evenly balanced than at the Rand School.

The Rand School, in conclusion, sets out with a special point of view to do a special thing. It can be judged only with those qualifications in mind. Whether such qualifications should ever be allowed in education, either of adults or youth, is another question. Obviously they should not, as a general practice. But the Rand School is an institution of a special kind existing for a special purpose. Certainly it has had an active share in the education of adults in New York, has a definite role in New York and must at least be represented in a study of this kind.

IV

THE BRYN MAWR SUMMER SCHOOL FOR WORKING WOMEN

One of the piquant paragraphs in the cultural history of our time and country will have to deal with higher education. From the Groves of Academe issue strange notes these latter days. Dominant is the note of jubilation. For are not these classic wolds more densely populated than at any other time in recorded history? But there is also a faint dissonant piping. For what is this population and how is it occupied? Are not the cool shades shattered by the raucous cries of picnic parties and the chaste paths strewn with academic olive pits and paper napkins? Doubt may well raise its voice. Is it altogether for the greater good of life and learning that ten degrees are where one was before?

Our institutions of higher education burst with wealth and numbers, but there is disquietude within. It manifests itself in divers ways. Here and there a rebellious spirit arises, a heretical idea is voiced, a fresh experiment attempted, a new approach sought to the old goal—the enrichment of life by the humanities. There was such a manifestation at Bryn Mawr after the war. Out of it was born the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Working Women. And whatever the consciously felt and publicly expressed motive may have been, perhaps a little light is thrown on the subconscious motive by a remark made by an instructor at a subsequent summer session, one who is regularly on the faculty of another woman's college. "When I have been standing up for eight months before the somnolent daughters of the plutocracy," he said, "it is like a breath of fresh air to come here and be challenged on economic theory by a garment worker." Of course, it is not only in women's

colleges that educators are wearying with the progeny of the plutocracy.

His remark is easy to credit when one sees a science teacher open her class by putting out seven or eight girls who do not belong in that section but crowd in after breakfast to see what has happened in the laboratory over night and ask permission to stay and hear the explanation. They go only when they are told courteously but firmly that they must wait until their own section meets. Or when an instructor who cannot meet his morning class because of a severe toothache is waited on in the afternoon by a committee of his students to inquire when he can make up the hour. Or when a teacher of economics is bearded on the campus in the afternoon recreation hour by a young woman who excitedly tells him she now can refute the argument he made about company unions that morning. What if their literary background is limited and their grammar imperfect and they must be lectured to in monosyllables and simple declarative sentences lest their vocabulary and understanding be strained? It is such stuff as a college teacher's dreams are made of.

The Summer School is an eight weeks' residence course for women factory workers brought from all parts of the United States on scholarships. It is not, strictly speaking, a Bryn Mawr enterprise. The college has provided the original inspiration, the auspices and the campus and buildings, but the Summer School remains an institution apart, under the control of a committee on which the college has only partial representation. The administration, faculty and students of the Summer School are equally represented.

The announced purpose of the School is:

"To offer young women in industry opportunities to study liberal subjects and to train themselves in clear thinking; to

stimulate an active and continued interest in the problems of our economic order; to develop a desire for study as a means of understanding and enjoyment of life. The School is not committed to any theory. The teaching is carried on by instructors who have an understanding of the students' practical experience in industry and of the labor movement. It is conducted in a spirit of impartial inquiry with freedom of discussion and teaching. It is expected that thus the students will gain a truer insight into the problems of industry and feel a more vital responsibility for their solution."

There are approximately one hundred students a year. They must be factory workers between the ages of 21 and 35—waitresses and telephone operators are the only others accepted—must have a common school education or its equivalent and be able to read and write English. They may be either unionized or non-unionized, but in practice the division is kept equal between union members and the unorganized. The students are chosen on recommendation by committees designated for the purpose in each of the eight regions into which the country is divided. Each region is given its quota of students according to its importance industrially, students being chosen only from the larger centers in order that each center may eventually have a compact group of Summer School graduates who will constitute the nucleus of an educational movement for working women.

The district committees are composed of Bryn Mawr alumnae, former Summer School students, women labor leaders and representatives of the Young Women's Christian Association and women's college clubs. In making their recommendations of students they give preference to those who have been attending evening classes or otherwise have shown a serious desire for education. Where possible, class work is arranged for applicants during the winter previous to the School session. In addition to the selection of students the local commit-

tees are responsible for raising the scholarship fund of \$200 and traveling expenses for each student, this sum paying for tuition, board and room. While all the expense of each student is thus paid, it must be remembered that they are all working women and that they sacrifice eight weeks' pay and put their jobs in jeopardy by their absence.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School is unique among institutions of adult education in the diversity of students assured by this system. In 1924, for instance, there were represented 21 states, 12 nationalities and 23 trades. In this fact alone there are educational possibilities. Here are girls from the Pacific Coast states and the Middle West, American by birth and custom and atmosphere and living in small towns where the standard of comfort is still preserved in some degree even at the lower social levels. Even the poor have their own house, with a little yard, though down by the railroad tracks. The indignity of congestion in slum quarters, the windowless tenement room, the mouldy hallway and all the other accompaniments of extremes of poverty in the mass are unknown. Here also are Southern mill town girls to whom the foreigner is a curiosity and urban working and living conditions are not even a myth from afar.

Both find themselves suddenly in intimate relations with Jewish garment workers from New York and Philadelphia and textile operatives, Jewish and others, from New Jersey and Massachusetts mills, girls who have experienced for themselves no material world but the loft and the tenement, who have had the harsh economic schooling of the city and are fiercely class-conscious. Racially, culturally and socially they are alien to each other. Their experiences meet nowhere. They do not and cannot understand each other. They do not talk the same language, although they use the same words. At the first point of contact they are mutually antipathetic;

instinctively so, the American-born out of their scorn for the foreigner and foreign ways, and the foreign-born, the Jewish most of all, out of their scorn for those mentally less keen and mature. When it comes to matching opinions, it is no longer an instinctive antipathy only, but the antagonism of conviction. The girls from the large cities are, many of them, labor-conscious, radical and sometimes communist, with all the dogmatism and religious fervor of the young radical. The others, many of them not even union members and perhaps also opposed to unionism, have the conservatism typical of labor in small American communities and a lack of labor consciousness; literally, an unawareness that there are class divisions in society. Moreover, they have been brought by the propaganda of recent years to an equally religious conviction that Bolshevism is of the anti-Christ and that unfamiliar ideas are Bolshevism. The resultant clash in discussion of any of the subjects that arise, for instance, in an economics class—and in these classes there is real discussion—is sharp and often rancorous.

One of the significant results of the eight weeks' course is the change that may be observed in both sides. By constant matching of opinions, brought out from each side by skilful and unpartisan teaching, each comes to have a glimpse of the other's point of view and the reasons for it. The garment worker, at first incredulous, comes to see that the Kansas girl's attitude toward her place in labor and labor's place in society is backward as compared to Europe because the social situation is backward as compared to Europe, because a worker here is not yet foredoomed to remain a worker and because in material aspects a worker's life here is not so clearly marked off from the life of other classes: he may have a home and a Ford and a radio. On the other hand, the girl from Kansas learns something about the working and living conditions of the garment worker and the so-

cial struggle into which she is cast, and gets an understanding of why she is combative and uncompromising.

At the end of one summer session a few girls from the West went to New York to visit some of their fellow-students before returning home. Among the first things they asked to see was a loft. They wanted to know what such a thing looked like. After the visit one of the Western girls stopped again in Bryn Mawr on her way home. She had stayed while in New York at the home of an Italian girl on the East Side. She was asked by one of the instructors what she thought of her New York visit. "Well, if we had that kind of life, maybe we'd be radicals too," she said. And the New York girls listen enviously and a little softened to stories of life in a Middle Western town.

This, then, is one of the important elements in the education they get. They learn to understand each other's point of view a little, they come to understand that different conditions produce different results—one of the first long steps to wisdom. And they go home with a different attitude toward life. They may not be less conservative on the one hand and less radical on the other, but in either case they are a little more tolerant and a little broadened. This may be observed even before they go home. The clannishness with which the different groups begin, tightened by the first contacts with the others, loosens perceptibly toward the end and there is mingling across sectional and racial and economic lines. And it has been accomplished, not by preachment but by common intellectual exercise on common problems.

But these are indirect results, though substantial. There are others, not derived from atmosphere and environment. Here as elsewhere first teaching and then curriculum are the essential criteria and the determining factors. With these in mind it may be said that the

direct benefits to the students are not less substantial than the indirect. The curriculum consists of economics, composition and hygiene, which are compulsory, and one of three electives—literature, psychology and science. There is, in addition, a course of six history lectures at odd hours, attendance at which is voluntary. But practically all attend. There are also occasional concerts, with lectures on the appreciation of music. Economics is scheduled for four hours a week, English composition—written and oral—for three and hygiene for one. The electives are for four hours each. There are, then, twelve class hours weekly.

Not all the instruction falls within those hours. At least as important are the tutorial periods. The Summer School has carried out with signal success the experiment of the tutorial system in adult education and demonstrated its value, if not its indispensability, in adult education. Each instructor has at least one tutor assistant, who works in closest co-operation with him, usually attending all classes. Each class has two or three tutorial periods a week. In class the instructor presents the subject and extracts discussion; the lecture method incidentally is sparingly used. In the tutorial period, where the group never exceeds six and often is smaller, the tutor reviews what has been given in class, analyses in greater detail, makes concrete applications to the experience of the individual girl and clears up points on which any girl may be in doubt. It is really an hour's conversation rather than a "period" and the self-conscious girl who is unused to the formalities of a classroom and too shy to ask questions or express opinions in class can speak out freely in the intimate atmosphere of a few girls chatting in a circle. In the tutorial hours, also, girls can be helped with their reading. This is especially necessary. Most of these girls have done little or no systematic studying and the assimilation of literature

dealing with abstract subjects is for them more than usually difficult, all the more so because there is almost a total lack of books on such subjects written for the layman. They are written instead for the professional student and the specialist, and, more often than not, written in that strange jargon of the specialist which is almost an argot. One of the urgent problems in adult education is the need for text books which are authoritative but simply written. This is a subject that will be developed elsewhere in this volume at greater length and need only be touched on at this point. To return to Bryn Mawr, one of the advantages of the tutorial system is that it gives the students assistance in their outside reading. To meet the same need there is what is known as a supervised study hour. Every evening one instructor or tutor remains in the library or in his own room at the service of any student who needs help in her reading. Thus each girl gets the maximum of individual attention without which any form of education, adult education most of all, is incomplete; and the teacher is able, through the tutor's assistance, to keep more closely informed of each student's difficulties and progress than is possible by class observation only.

What one sees at the Bryn Mawr Summer School is an eloquent commentary on conventional institutional education. These are teachers chosen from regular college staffs and teaching the same subjects they do in college. Yet it is the rare college class in which one finds an atmosphere comparable to that which is normal here. Can it be because the student body is different? Is there not a fallacy in the aphorism that if you have Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a boy on the other the result will be education? That may depend also on the boy. It is probably more nearly true that if you have Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and Socrates on the other you will not have education if the boy in the middle has

no desire to be educated and no interest in the things of the mind and is there only for social reasons—to make the personal acquaintances that will help him achieve a certain material prosperity and to become eligible to what is called in this country a university club. And furthermore, both Socrates and Mark Hopkins would become Professors Dryasdust at the end of ten years if they had only that kind of boy to work with, whether on a log or in the most prodigiously endowed pseudo-Gothic halls. Your teacher may be never so thoroughly grounded pedagogically, never so magnetic of personality and unflagging in enthusiasm: his efforts will be vain and he himself a failure if he have not students who come part of the way with him or at least can be led. And his enthusiasm will wither within him.

It is not only good teaching that is responsible for the results attained at Bryn Mawr. The quality of teaching is, indeed, of the highest. The instructors have been selected especially for this purpose and they have now accumulated valuable experience in this specialized field. Yet in the result good teaching is as much an effect as a cause. Teacher is stimulated by pupil as much as pupil by teacher. These pupils have been accepted only on demonstration of a genuine desire for education. They have come only because they want the benefits of an education and therefore lend themselves to the business which brings them there. They need not be wooed. Teachers also can lend themselves to the business which brings them there. They need not ply any extraneous arts.

An economics class, for instance, sometimes takes on the color of a spirited debate. But this is not economics as it is comprehended in a college catalogue. It does not acknowledge strict departmental limits. It is something of a history of social forms and also more of a picture and analysis of contemporary economic society.

There is less of theory and more of tracing the development of economic relations. And always illustration is sought in the experience of the students; to some extent their own specific industries are taken for analysis, as well as their own labor problems. Now, for one thing this requires instructors who know something of industry and the problems of labor, know them practically. For another, it requires students who can bring to class experience out of daily living. And here there must be pointed out one of the fundamental differences between adult education and adolescent education, whether the latter be of fourth-grade children in long division or of graduate students in the ablative absolute and the participle in *Beowulf*. The adult student is not just a passive, receptive agent. He is not just a vacuum to be filled, with the expectation that what has been put in will come out again unchanged. The adult student knows something about what he is being taught, enough at least to test it. You may with impunity spread forth to the college sophomore the obsolete or obsolescent economic doctrines held by a majority of economists in the generation when you were a graduate student, and unless you are the exceptional college teacher of economics you will; and the college sophomore will have no way of knowing that the truths he has to memorize because you tell him to are long, long dead or discarded by a changing world. He would not dare say so if he did know; he might put his marks in jeopardy. But if you spread forth the same doctrine to a mature worker who has seen something of the mechanisms of production and distribution he might bring you up with a jerk by the citation of one crisp, pertinent fact, and perhaps giggle at you. And very, very often in an adult education class with a teacher not experienced in teaching adults, just that occurs. To teach economics to adults requires some knowledge, some assurance and some courage; most of

all, knowledge. The Bryn Mawr Summer School, as specified in its statement of purpose, chooses its economics teachers with this fact most in mind. In 1924 they were Miss Amy Hewes, of Mount Holyoke College; Carter Goodrich, of the University of Michigan, and William Orton, of Smith College.

The science course is in effect the sustained virtuosity of its instructor, Miss Louise Brown, of Dana Hall, Wellesley, Massachusetts. She accomplishes the seemingly impossible by sheer force of personality. She takes young women who have not been beyond the grade schools, to whom science is merely a word and for whom the distinction between the various branches of science is hazy, even as to terminology. In eight weeks she gives them something of astronomy, botany, zoology, physics, chemistry, geology and biology, with no text book but her own syllabus, a most elementary and sparsely equipped laboratory and the out-of-doors. When they have finished they do not know much of any science; but they have an intelligent grasp of science. Their sense of wonder has been opened to the physical world.

They go out at night and look through a telescope at the stars and the moon and hear a simple explanation of the sun and the planetary systems. "The moon will never be the same to me again," a young woman from the city meditatively observed after one such evening. They stroll under the trees of Bryn Mawr's lovely campus, are told simply of the life of growing things and are shown how to make broader classifications for themselves. They catch beetles and butterflies, bring them into the laboratory and record their observations. They catch a bat and dissect it. They make experiments with the commoner elements for their chemistry and with an instrument or two see something of the working of physical forces. The unity underlying all these phases of the physical world known as the sciences and their relation one to

another is emphasized throughout and brought out with fine artistry. And because Miss Brown can make the unfamiliar and abstruse intimate and interesting and simple, can open up a new world to their imaginations so they comprehend it, she holds them literally in thrill. For two hours she alternates demonstration with Socratic questioning, weaving in explication now and then. At the end of the first hour she tells them they may rest for ten minutes or, if they prefer, she will proceed. They do not move. She goes on without interruption. "Teachers are born," yes. Miss Brown's talent is doubtless intuitive. But not wholly so. She has taken summer session after summer session at Bryn Mawr and by experience learned how to communicate in terms within the experience and understanding of girls such as these. She has learned how to teach them by knowing them first.

So also is the course in Literature to be distinguished from what is so called in college catalogues. It is not a perusal seriatim of classics, isolated out of the whole of human life and experience. It is an outline of man and his thought as expressed in letters. Less formidably phrased, the aim of the course is to include enough of history for literature to be seen and interpreted in its setting. In this sense the whole of literature from the Greek tragedies to modern novels is taken up, partly by lectures, partly by reading and partly by discussion around a table. Students are encouraged to do such reading as may appeal to their interest. In any case they are given a key to their future reading. Miss Laura Wylie of Vassar is instructor in Literature. Composition courses are conducted in co-ordination with the other courses, papers written in other subjects being used as a basis of criticism and practice. Public speaking is included in this department. Instructors in composition are Miss Lelia Bascom of the University of Wisconsin,

Miss Josephine Colby of the Brookwood labor college and Miss Lillian Herstein of the Frank Crane Junior College in Chicago. The course in Psychology, under Harrison Harley of Simmons College, is an untechnical introduction to the subject, difficult but successful in getting and holding the interest of the students. The history course in 1925 was an experiment. Edward M. Earle of the history department of Columbia was brought down for six lectures as a test to determine whether history as a subject would call forth any response. The experiment was an abundant success, largely owing to Mr. Earle's skill. In six lectures he sought to show the development of modern Europe, tracing the forces that have gone into its making since the Middle Ages, a difficult task in selection if the series was to frame a unified picture for girls whose knowledge of history is scant, if that. Attendance on the lectures was voluntary. Before the last nearly the whole school was present. When in the development of his lecture Mr. Earle asked a rhetorical question the answer was shouted up at him. After each lecture they put questions as long as they were permitted and then a dozen or more crowded around him on the rostrum and they talked for another half hour. Occasionally a visitor is asked to talk. One such spoke at the afternoon tea. His subject was international relations. He neglected to wait for questions. The tea being over, he wandered out on to the lawn. He was followed by a little group, cornered against a tree and faced with rebuttal, with a formidable cross-examination, in fact. The cross-examination became an argument, attracted more students and a few teachers, and was prolonged in a circle on the grass until the dinner bell rang.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School is by no means a perfected institution. It is still in the stage of experiment. Its problems are only now beginning to emerge. Is such

a school practicable in the long run? Can it count on one hundred working women a year who will sacrifice two months' earning power? Can it count on being able to raise a budget of at least \$30,000 every year from irregular contributors? Basically, then, is there a place in this country for a resident school for working women? Granted that there is, how can it best function? What teaching method is best adapted to meet the needs of such women? What printed matter? Given girls of different nationalities and environments, of different stages of scholastic preparation, what idiom can be found common to them all in conduct of classes? Also, what happens to the students after they have left? Do they go on studying or go back to their work and, for their leisure, amusements? That a large proportion of them now continue studying in evening classes after going through the Bryn Mawr course is certain, but exact data are lacking. A study of the activities of former students is now about to be undertaken, however. This study should throw light on the question of how far the School should attempt to maintain a relation with former students. The Bryn Mawr Summer School may still be an experiment; but it has proved itself enough already to be recorded as one of the notable efforts in adult education in the United States—for that matter, one of the notable efforts in American education.

V

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN SCHOOL FOR WORKING WOMEN

The Bryn Mawr idea, of course, spread. In 1924 a similar venture was begun at the University of Wiscon-

sin. It began cautiously. Eight girls working in offices and factories in Madison were enrolled for special courses in the University under the auspices of a special committee. The next year it was decided to branch out. Applications were invited from the whole Middle West. Forty-one were accepted from nine states.

The plan is similar to Bryn Mawr but has not yet been developed. Tuition fee of \$100 is provided for a six weeks' course. The curriculum so far includes English, physical education, economics and hygiene. Classes are now independent of the university, but in certain individual cases where academic qualifications warrant the girls are allowed to take the regular university summer school course. The instructors in the working women's summer school are all members of the university courses but they are expected to adapt their material to working women's needs. The tutorial system is followed on the model of Bryn Mawr.

The Wisconsin school has a more homogeneous group than Bryn Mawr. All of its students last year were native-born, 15 of them born of native parents, 26 of foreign-born parents. The majority were of German ancestry. One was a Negress.

The Wisconsin school, which in its first two years has been under the directorship of Miss Elizabeth S. Magee, has not gone far enough for any definitive judgment. As far as it has gone, it has had satisfying results. In any case, there is encouragement in the fact that the Bryn Mawr idea has begun to spread. Thus we may be seeing the beginning of active co-operation between the universities and the workers' education movement, or, better, co-operation in education between the universities and the labor movement, such as exists in England.

VI

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF GIRLS' CLUBS

The National League of Girls' Clubs, until a few years ago known as the National League of Women Workers, is a federation of working women's clubs and associations brought together some thirty years ago "to advance the social, educational and industrial interests of women by means of self-governing clubs." For many years this end was sought through social functions, physical recreation, reading circles and classes in sewing, cooking and other domestic arts. In 1922 another and wider interpretation was given the League's purpose; and this purpose was to be realized through education.

The new policy is succinctly put in a League publication:

"The primary object of the League's present educational program is to help its members to think for themselves and to direct their thinking toward a more intelligent attack upon their individual and social problems. In pursuance of this object classes in psychology, history, literature, the sciences, economics and social organization have been formed in the clubs, wherever it was possible."

These classes and a summer school which had its first session in 1925 constitute the educational program. The recreational activities have not been abandoned. They still occupy the huge majority of the 50,000 club members. Each club is autonomous. It may adopt any program it likes. And within each club any part of it may adopt its own program; those who wish classes may have them and those who do not need not enroll. But the best energies of the clubs' leaders are bent on the educational

program and the whole drive of the national organization is in that direction. The results have been satisfying. Classes and enrollment have increased and any observation of the work yields evidence of definite improvement in quality. Another report issued by the League says:

"That the general tone of club activity has been raised seems to be unquestioned. The idea of dropping back to pre-Vassar convention days [before 1922] seems to those who have participated in classes, round table discussions, etc., quite unthinkable. The demand is for more classes, other subjects, advanced study. What has already been accomplished is taken merely as an indication of what could be accomplished if more time, more energy and more faith were to be had."

The League has clubs organized in six Eastern states—New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine and Rhode Island. Its membership, as already said, is 50,000. While the members are all working women, they are not industrial workers alone but include women in clerical and merchandising occupations. This is an important fact to bear in mind. There is a tendency for all educational efforts for working women to be confined to factory workers. Little is being done for others; and it is questionable whether the others do not need awakening even more. It is easier to enroll students from the factories and progress is more easily realized among them. The stenographer, bookkeeper or salesgirl responds less readily to the appeal to educate herself, and when she can be brought to attend classes it is harder to hold her and to make her apply herself when she stays. The Young Women's Christian Association, which has had the longest and most extensive experience with working women, has found also that women in "nicer" jobs are more inert mentally than girls at the machine and workbench. Their interests are more restricted. It is

the psychology of the white-collar class, of course. They take their satisfactions in the reflected effulgence of the bosses near whom they work, men who, if they are not those of whom the success magazines write, talk as if they were. They are called Miss Smith or Miss Jones by such men. They are taken into the confidence of such men—patronizingly, it is true; and they are close to the scene of “big deals” and by an easy process of transference identify themselves with the protagonists in the scene. “Your co-operation”—“in conference”—“constructive”—“creative”—“now, my thought is”—all the absurd locutions of American business speech are theirs by unconscious appropriation. In short, they are not “workers.” Why need they be educated about economics and such things? Why, they are educated. They have been in high school, perhaps. Besides, they wear silk dresses and sit in nice offices.

The League of Girls’ Clubs has reached out for working women in all occupations and its membership is fairly evenly divided among industrial workers and others. The average age is 25. The clubs are, of course, non-sectarian. So far as possible, they are self-supporting. Grants are necessary, however, to maintain the National Education Department, which is responsible for formulating policies, thinking out educational problems, assisting local clubs in organizing classes, planning curricula and securing teachers. The most important task of the department is conducting the summer school. Miss Virginia Potter is chairman of the department and Miss Mary L. Ely secretary and executive.

There are some fifty classes a year in the six states, with a total enrollment averaging 1,000. Courses are organized in short units, usually eight sessions to a course, coming in the evening once a week. Where the membership is large there are three terms a year, courses either being repeated or being carried on in a continuing series for the

whole year. The subjects include all or some of the following:

Economics, Biology, English, History, Psychology, Current Events, Parliamentary Law, Sociology and Public Speaking.

Classes are practically always conducted as discussion groups seated around a table. They are small, ranging from six to thirty and usually nearer six. Occasionally, but seldom, the hour opens with a lecture, which is followed by questions and answers. Outside reading is desired but expected only with exceptional students. Where possible, teachers are taken from colleges and high schools if they have the inclination and aptitude for informal teaching of adults. In addition to class work there are Sunday teas or special evening meetings with lectures, as informal as possible, followed by questions and discussion. Typical of such addresses are: "On Child Labor" by Owen Lovejoy; "The World Crisis," by Professor Jesse Holmes of Swarthmore; "The White Race on Trial," by Charles Zueblin.

The most important contribution of the National League of Girls' Clubs, however, is the summer school, held for the first time in August-September, 1925, at Miller's Place, on Long Island, in a large frame house of the kind now used as summer boarding places. In its underlying theory and its method this school is unique in adult education.

It was organized on the project method as an experiment. The subjects chosen for the curriculum were Economics, History, Literature, Psychology and Biology. But they were not taught as so many separated subjects. Instead, four problems of universality of application and appeal were chosen, each to be dealt with exclusively for one week from the point of view, successively, of Economics, History, Literature, Psychology and Biology.

For the first week Woman and Society was chosen, to be studied in the light that could be thrown on it from each of those angles. The other three were Group Life, Our Changing Moral Code and Social Progress.

A fuller description of the nature of these problems and their content follows:

Woman and Society: How is the modern woman freer than women in pioneer America, in mediæval Europe, in primitive tribes? How has woman's emancipation changed our ideas of feminine traits? Are there any fundamental feminine traits that do not change? What great social changes have caused woman's emancipation?

Group Life: How must you as an individual adjust yourself to the group in which you live? How do the demands of your group today differ from those made in your grandmother's day? How does your group enforce its demands on you?

Our Changing Moral Code: What is the meaning of the "flapper rebellion"? Are our ideas of right and wrong changing? Why? Have moral codes changed before? How is a child taught to distinguish between right and wrong?

Social Progress: Can we say that we have progressed or merely changed since the days of our grandfathers? Since primitive times? Has progress come through man's efforts or through forces which he does not control? Has progress come because man today is superior to primitive man or because qualities, which man has always had, have been more fully developed by civilization?

On Monday of each week a lecture was given to the whole school introducing the subject of the week, sketching some of the problems it comprehended and how they would be attacked. This was followed by adjournment into small discussion groups of five or six or perhaps eight at the most; each instructor having his own discussion group as well as class. Here there was departure from the usual practice in that discussion preceded the lecture rather than followed it. Each day's discussion

was in preparation for the lecture which was to come the next day. Questions were raised which would be dealt with the next day and each girl's opinions and experience drawn forth. After the introductory lecture, for instance, on Woman and Society the discussion groups spent an hour analyzing the light that biology could throw on the subject. The next day the lecture on biology was given. Later the same day the discussion groups considered the light history could throw on the subject. The following day the lecture on history was given. Each day's discussion period was also devoted partly to clearing up doubtful points in the previous day's lecture. In that sense it was also a tutorial period such as the Bryn Mawr Summer School has. At the end of the week there was a summation period, in which each of the five instructors gave briefly the contribution of his field to the week's problem. This was followed by a final general discussion, with all the faculty and students taking part freely. This required, of course, an extraordinary degree of co-operation and mutual understanding among the instructors. They had to have a common basis of understanding and agreement, at least on fundamentals, and each had to know exactly what all the others were giving, since each had a discussion hour in which not only his own lecture was discussed but those of all the others. In practice, therefore, each instructor had to attend all the other lectures. Co-operation was attained to a truly extraordinary degree, but agreement not always, with the result that the final summation period developed into fundamental intellectual cleavages and vigorous debates between instructors, with students intervening now and then, and in many ways was the most profitable session of the week.

For the benefit of those students with special interests, special classes were provided in Economics, Biology, History, Literature and Psychology, the hours being arranged

at the beginning of each week on agreement between the instructors and those who elected the special work. These classes went more intensively into the content of each subject. One other course, offered originally in the hope that a few might be attracted, became an integral part of the curriculum. This was the course in art. What was expected to be only a series of illustrated lectures turned out to be one of the regular classes, though outside the regular class hours, and was attended by at least half the students every week. This was due largely to the personality of the instructor, Edgar Wind, formerly of the University of Berlin and now of the University of North Carolina. With the aid of slides and photographic reproductions borrowed from the Metropolitan Museum of New York he gave lectures on the great painters and sculptors and conducted classes in the appreciation of painting, sculpture and architecture. He told them very little about Art; but he showed them how to look at a picture or piece of marble. They knew when a picture was in one plane without being told, and they knew without being told that it was a mural. And most of them, having come from small towns, had never been in a museum or seen a painting. The other members of the faculty were: Biology, Howard M. Parshley, Smith College; Economics, Theresa Wolfson, Workers' University, International Ladies' Garment Workers; History, Illyd David, of the tutorial classes of Oxford University, assisted by Alice Shoemaker of the Bryn Mawr Summer School; Literature, Olga Law, of the faculty of the New York League of Girls' Clubs; Psychology, Gail Kennedy, Columbia University; chairman of the faculty, Mary L. Ely; secretary of the school, Bertha Wallerstein.

Aside from all questions of pedagogical values, the project method, organized in units of one week, has one notable advantage. It is admirably suited for work with students who are employed and are free for study in res-

idence only during their vacations. It escapes the serious difficulty of Bryn Mawr, how to get students who can afford to leave their jobs for eight weeks. While the League's summer school is of four weeks' duration only, few stayed so long and even those who stayed only a week got something out of it. They saw one problem, in the light that five branches of learning could throw on it. They were brought to see the interrelation of all knowledge. What they took away with them was a whole, and if not very deep and very broad it was at least a unified and harmonious whole. And those who attend classes in the evening during the year will envisage the single subject they study in truer perspective.

More important than the system was the atmosphere. An enthusiasm that could not have been simulated pervaded classroom and discussion table. There was all the excitement of adventure in finding out about these things and arguing about them. There was a fine feeling of intellectual equality between teacher and student. A girl might agree with an instructor and she might not. If she did not, she said so, with no self-consciousness on the part of the girl or the teacher; there was something refreshing in seeing a youngster who had never read a chapter through on psychology disagreeing with a teacher from Columbia and standing by her case until argued down. There was no deference to position and no acceptance on the dictum of authority. Which reflects equally creditably on the teacher, of course. A satisfactorily large proportion showed a clear grasp of general ideas, the more amazing in those who have had little enough experience in handling ideas at all. In the special classes readings were assigned as difficult as those given college freshmen. They were assimilated as well as they would be by college freshmen. Finally, there is the characteristic picture of half a dozen youngsters around a table in the village ice cream parlor late at night, heads huddled to-

gether, excitedly checking up the formulae for Mendel's Law which they have had in the special biology class that afternoon. They work for an hour or more, hotly disputing. The tables being finally worked out, they acclaim their triumph lustily and offer to demonstrate to all and sundry at the neighboring tables. Here the analogy with college freshmen ends; they would be checking up the football scores, and if any boy inadvertently brought up something they had in history or literature that day he would lose caste.

This being the first year of the school, the attendance was small, although the fee for tuition, board and room was only \$12.50 a week and there were enough recreational facilities to make a stay at the school a pleasant vacation. The attendance was never more than 40 and one week it was only 20. Only nine stayed more than two weeks. Thirty-three were there for but one week. There were 72 different individuals in the four weeks' term. Only two were under 20 years old and 16 were more than 30. All but nine were of American parentage and only a third were factory workers, the others being stenographers, clerical workers and the like. And half had been in high school. It was thus a more normal and representative group than the student body at Bryn Mawr and for that reason the success of the school is all the more significant. As has been pointed out before, it is among those close to the norm of American life that least is being done in the way of adult education, if vocational education be left out of calculation. The National League of Girls' Clubs has set its task in a more difficult field. Nevertheless it is doing admirable work, and in the summer school, as already said, it has made a clear contribution. Succeeding sessions of the school should add much to the fund of experience, of conclusions from trial and error, which is necessary before any sound theory of adult education can be worked out and put into practice.

VII

POCONO PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

This is an adaptation to American conditions of the Danish folk school, the institution which, combining the functions of school and social settlement, has transformed the civilization of Denmark. The founder and director of Pocono, S. A. Mathiasen, went to Denmark to study the folk schools before attempting the experiment in this country.

"College" is a misnomer for Pocono. It is not and does not aspire to be a college. It provides a succession of three months' courses to meet the needs of those who have had little formal schooling and do not want any and to translate knowledge for them into non-scholastic terms. The humanization of knowledge for ordinary folk is Mr. Mathiasen's definition of his idea, his purpose and his method. He takes those who are not eligible to entrance in other, more regular educational institutions and prefers not to take those who are. As a corollary the school aims at the development of community spirit through group activities, partly cultural and partly recreational, and, further, at the training of leaders who will return to their own communities and organize groups there for further study and group expression of the same kind.

The school is situated at Henryville, Pa., in the Pocono Mountains, a two-story stone building on the brow of a hill a few miles from the railroad. The one building serves as administration quarters, college hall, dormitory and commons. On the lower floor are small rooms for classes and a social hall, on the floor above dormitory rooms. Mr. Mathiasen and his family have a cottage apart, but take their meals in the common dining hall

with the other teachers and students. The work of caring for the building is shared by all alike. Both men and women students keep their rooms orderly and divide the tasks of serving meals, washing dishes, keeping the furnace fires up and similar chores. There is a spirit of camaraderie which shows itself in kitchen and classroom alike. The school is co-educational. A majority of the students are between 20 and 25 years old, with an occasional exception in middle age. The tuition fee is \$200 and is inclusive of everything for three months' residence, but a majority come on scholarships, paid by friends in their communities or friends of the school.

The curriculum consists of lectures, discussions and recreation, the latter including singing, group dancing, group games and dramatic performances. There are special discussion groups and much individual work to meet special needs. Classes are small and resolve themselves into informal conversations between student and instructor and student and student. Books are used very little in preparation for class. But there is much group reading.

The curriculum, which is, incidentally, much too formal a word, is divided into five parts: History, Literature, Community Life, Science and Recreation. These are interpreted as follows:

History: the story of the human race, American history, biography.

Literature: drama, poetry, the novel, appreciation of art, essay writing and grammar for those who need it.

Community Life: social psychology, economics, review of social progress and community leadership.

Science: psychology, evolution and a course called The Wonders of Science.

Recreation: dramatics, group singing, folk dancing, game-leading, hiking.

There are also minor courses, like home economics, stenography, spelling and arithmetic, with special reference to individual needs. Lectures are given from time to time, also, by visitors, some of whom are at the college for only one day and some for a week, in which case they give a series. Some of those who have visited in a single term are: Dr. Leroy E. Bowman, of Columbia University; Dr. Warren W. Wilson, formerly of Teachers College, Columbia University; Devere Allen, editor of *The World Tomorrow*; Dr. William E. Griffis, writer on Far Eastern history; John Bradford, field secretary of the Playground and Recreation Association; George Junkin, dramatic expert of the Playground and Recreation Association; Peter W. Dykema, of the music department of Teachers' College, and E. C. Lindeman, sociologist and student of adult education. After these lectures an evening is set aside for a round table discussion of the speaker's "message."

There is little organization. A schedule is set for each day of the week, with two or three classes and a recreation period every day, but it is subject to change if the occasion demands or the students desire change. Students' suggestions are sought and generally followed. If one group wants an extra hour on a certain subject there is an extra hour. If another wants a different attack on a subject, it is considered. If two students of opposed points of view clash on a question raised in a lecture and wish to argue it out, the lecture is interrupted and they argue it out or an extra period is scheduled for them and any others who wish to participate. The lecturer himself is subject to interruption and challenge at any time.

This is, in fact, the normal procedure. In a social psychology class may be a migratory worker who has been an I. W. W. and is a communist, who has lived the life of a hobo and read Karl Marx and Whitman, Hegel and Freud, whose knowledge is sketchy and improperly as-

simulated but who has a sharp mind capable of observation and generalization; a young woman with a master's degree from a state university, one of the comfortable suburban class with intellectual interests and a leaning toward social service and the social service point of view; a Jewish girl, an office worker from a Great Lakes industrial city, with the passion for learning typical of her kind and a great deal of book learning already acquired; a woman of 30, of Dutch Catholic ancestry, to whom the world of books was newly opened a few years before, and a shop mechanic from a Pennsylvania industrial town, conservative and hard-headed and worldly wise, and young men and women from farm villages. The question, say, of escape is taken up by the lecturer. He details the various forms of escape—religion, scholarship, proselyting for Utopias, dissipation.

He is then challenged simultaneously from several sides. The migratory worker denies that dedication to communism is an escape; it is the most intimate identification with reality, with life, he maintains. The young woman with the master's degree protests that the life of intellectualism is not escape; it is the understanding of life. The Catholic woman denies that religion is escape; it is life. The debate waxes, not always on the highest levels of ratiocination but always with bite and vigor and sometimes with a deal of wisdom. Mr. Mathiasen, the instructor, acts as chairman, keeping the discussion to the point, intervening when an argument transcends a fact or scientific accuracy and sometimes interjecting his own opinion. The hour draws to a close and Mr. Mathiasen interrupts to say that he wishes to dispose of the point he has been treating before the next session. The argument is still at deadlock, however, so what shall they do about it? It is suggested that another hour be set that afternoon at which all those in the class who want to thrash this out or hear it thrashed out may come.

Agreed. That afternoon five come in. The communist outlines his case first. Mr. Mathiasen puts the rebuttal. The others intervene. One by one each is given his opportunity to state his case in the same way. The debate extends far over the hour and finally adjourns inconclusively. Whether much psychology be learned in these three months or not, there has been a great deal of invigorating intellectual exercise.

Once a week there is a meeting of all the students with the teachers and questions may be put to any or all of the instructors, either in advance or at the meeting. Some of the questions at one meeting were:

What proof have we that there is a subconscious mind?

Will you express your thoughts as to what psychology is doing for us today?

Do you think psycho-analysis should be studied and used by doctors?

What causes periods of depression in business?

Just what makes prices of crops fluctuate and what effect does the tariff have on prices?

There have been allusions to a newer and more normal sex life in certain emancipated groups; how should sex expression be redirected for the greatest good to the individual and society?

What is your opinion of Gandhi in connection with non-co-operation and would it not lead to isolation, as with the Chinese?

And this question to Mr. Mathiasen: Mr. Smith (instructor in Literature) made the statement that poetry sometimes is more scientific than science. This is contrary to your opinion. Will you and Mr. Smith please discuss it before us?

They did, with the students as participating audience, showing approval or disapproval and perhaps voicing opinions now and then.

Much emphasis is laid on recreation, partly because it

is believed that adults will not be attracted to study unless some entertainment is interwoven with study and partly because it is desired that Pocono students go out with some training as group leaders; it is also one of the tenets of the school of thought underlying the folk college idea that development must come through the emotions more than through the intellect. There is much singing in chorus, conscious encouragement of group games and dramatics. "Pillars of Society" was presented at the close of one term, rôles being shared by students and natives of the village of Henryville. After the rehearsals were well under way one afternoon was set apart for the cast to go out into the woods to cut down timber for the setting. They built the stage and the properties themselves and designed their own costumes. All that was borrowed was the play.

The work of the college is not confined to its students. There is much extension work and it is hoped that more may be done. Henryville is in a region destitute of cultural resources. It is a region of villages with no educational facilities but the village school, presided over by a young girl with a high school education and one year in normal school. In a town not far distant is a moving picture theater. Once a year there is a three-day chaquetaqua of the more vulgar sort. Latterly there is the radio, with such cultural nutriment as may be guessed by looking over the typical radio program. The Pocono Mountains lie in a pocket not uncommon in this country. The need for something such as Pocono attempts hardly needs proving. But Pocono lacks the means to do it. Lectures are given by Mr. Mathiasen or another teacher on literature and science in the neighboring villages. The plays produced by the students are presented in the villages. And every Saturday night there is a community evening at the college, with folk dancing, choral singing, games or a play. Between 100 and 150 come in from

the village of Henryville and neighboring farms every Saturday night.

Even with its limited resources Pocono has made a place for itself in its region. At a village like Cresco, with a population of 300, a lecture has an attendance of 40 and an extension committee has been formed to co-operate with the college in planning programs. Regular programs have been given at Stroudsburg, the nearest town, with a population of 10,000, and a Pocono College committee has been formed. The town has attested its appreciation by raising a fund of \$2,000 for scholarships. In many other villages dramatic performances have been given; the entering wedge is always entertainment. And everywhere Mr. Mathiasen and his staff are carrying on an unassuming educational campaign on the value and need of adult education.

Pocono's policy and program and daily functioning are conditioned by one consideration: finances. It has never had enough students. The largest number of full-time students has been 16, with between 15 and 83 part-time students, part-time meaning between three days and a month. For one thing, Pocono must face the same circumstance as Bryn Mawr: the difficulty of finding students who work for their living and yet can take two or three months off. Pocono's difficulty is greater. Bryn Mawr has an organization which at least pays the expenses of the students for tuition and board. Pocono has not. It must find students who not only can afford three months' leisure but pay \$200 besides. It might do so, if it had a large organization, but that, too, requires a surplus margin. Moreover, Bryn Mawr and the National League of Girls' Clubs need carry no overhead for their summer schools. The one has the use of the Bryn Mawr buildings and the other rents a building only for the duration of the school. Pocono must carry the overhead of its own building, although it can have but two terms

a year—the rest of the time must be spent in organizing and keeping fresh contacts with the folk with whom it wishes to identify itself. Pocono, in short, must have an endowment—and hasn't. It has therefore worked thus far under serious limitations. Mr. Mathiasen has usually had the assistance of but one full-time instructor. While it has been possible, with so small a student body, to give each student the individual attention he needs, it has not been possible to conduct the experimentation of method necessary in working out an idea so untried as the folk school in this country.

Where the economic handicap has not entered, the idea has been proved as sound as it can be in so short a time. There has been nothing lacking as far as the personal element is concerned. The teaching is excellent; manifestly students who have been there three months have derived substantial benefit. Despite so wide a variation in the previous preparation of the students, a common denominator has been found. It is not easy to strike upon an idiom in presentation which is intelligible to those whose preparation has been slight and at the same time is not "talking down" to those who are academically initiate. Mr. Mathiasen and his assistants have met the difficulty successfully. They really have translated knowledge into folk terms without simplifying them out of truth.

Pocono may be basically unsound. Conditions in a highly industrialized society may be unsuited to a folk school. In an agricultural society farmers can leave their farms or spare their sons from the farm for a winter. Industrial and commercial workers cannot leave their jobs. And in a mechanically developed society other channels may bring to the farmer and his family all the entertainment they want and the instruction they think they need. Also, in a country where property values and maintenance charges are as high as they are here, overhead

may be prohibitive for any educational institution which cannot charge very high fees or command the income of a large endowment. All this may be true and may militate against any possibility of the successful establishment of folk schools in this country and even against the success of Pocono itself. But it is also true that the letters which come in regularly to Pocono from men and women of all ages and every estate, who say that they would not be admitted into a college and will not go to night school but would like to learn that which they have missed all their lives, is evidence that there is a desire for an institution like Pocono. In the highly organized educational system of the United States there is no place for those who do not fit into certain classifications. There should be. Without regard to whether social and economic factors are prohibitive, there is ground at least for the assumption that there is a need for educational facilities such as Pocono offers. If there is, Pocono has already demonstrated that it can meet the need satisfactorily. In any case, the experiment is worth making, and much would be lost if it could not be carried through—whether at Pocono by Mr. Mathiasen or elsewhere by some one else. Since Pocono has gone further with the idea than has even been attempted hitherto in this country much would be lost if Pocono could not carry on.

VIII

LABOR TEMPLE SCHOOL

This is the educational department of a community center maintained, though somewhat distantly, by the Presbytery of New York on the East Side of New York City. The Labor Temple, at Fourteenth Street and Second Avenue, was originally a Presbyterian church.

In 1911 the church moved and the building was converted into a non-sectarian community center. In 1914 an educational department was established with Dr. Will Durant as director. At first its work was limited to two lecture courses by Dr. Durant, but since 1921 some thirty courses have been given every year, most of them in very short series.

There is an annual registration of 1,200 at the Labor Temple School, many of whom, of course, register for more than one course and are counted more than once. Dr. Durant's two courses have an average attendance of 600. The shorter courses have an average attendance of 40. The fee for courses of five lectures is \$1.50, and for Dr. Durant's courses, which are usually of 35 lectures, \$5. The Labor Temple Players, a dramatic organization to which all students are eligible, produces a number of one-act plays every year. In organization and the character of its public the Labor Temple School does not differ widely from the Rand School, except that it is not socialistic. To the contrary, it steadfastly avoids all political and religious partisanship and tends much more to the humanities and less to the social sciences than the Rand School. As a result it has a much less class-conscious audience. In its theory the Labor Temple School is more akin to the People's Institute.

The two lectures by Dr. Durant are the most important features of the Labor Temple School. For the year 1924-1925 they were A History of Art and The Development of the Drama. For 1925-1926 they were Poets: A Guide to the Best Poetry of the Last 125 Years; and A System of Philosophy: An Outline of the Major Problems and Comparison of the Views of the Greater Philosophers. They are, as is evident, intended for those with serious interests; but that they are not pedantic is evidenced by the size of the audiences. Because he has been able to work out a technique of presentation whereby difficult

matter is transmitted without difficulty in manner, Dr. Durant commands a permanent following.

The lecturers in the shorter courses are all men and women of standing in the intellectual and artistic world of New York. The courses given in the first half of the season 1925-26, each consisting of five lectures, were as follows:

The Jew Yesterday and Today: Dr. Joel Blau, writer on Jewish history.

The Origins and Forms of Contemporary Art: Walter Pach, critic and lecturer.

Architecture in New York: Lewis Mumford, author of "Sticks and Stones."

Social Biology: Dr. A. Stone and Dr. Hannah Stone.

Five Ages in the World's Literature: John Macy, critic.

The Development of Modern Fiction: John Cowper Powys, critic and novelist.

Contemporary Scandinavian Literature: Julius Moritzen, Director, Scandinavian Authors' Bureau.

The Problems of Woman: Doris Stevens, feminist writer.

The Problems of Race: A symposium by A. A. Goldenweiser, William E. B. Du Bois, Lothrop Stoddard, Sidney L. Gulick and Mr. Durant.

Russian Literature in the Twentieth Century: Miss Polya Kasherman.

Stomatology and Labor: Dr. Alfred Asgis, Secretary, American Stomatological Association.

Problems in Modern Biology: Dr. A. Stone.

Contemporary International Relations: Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary, Workers' Education Bureau.

Contemporary Literature: Carl Van Doren, Columbia University.

These speak for themselves. They are evidence of high intellectual standard. That a program which in no sense seeks to be "popular" and never is popular can

yet win so large a public is eloquent both as to the opportunity for adult education in New York City and the capacity of the Labor Temple School to meet the opportunity.

CHAPTER V

NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

THERE are in the United States a number of national associations organized for general purposes but having auxiliary phases which might be called, or are intended to be, educational. Such associations must be given detailed consideration, not only for what they do now but for the part they may take in any future development of adult education. They are national in reach, are nationally organized and have large memberships, in some cases enormous memberships. If their aims should turn in the direction of systematic education, and in so far as they are so turned now, a machine exists ready to hand and capable of functioning without the preliminary labor of building up an organization. Among such bodies are the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Jewish Women and the League of Women Voters in one category, and, in the other, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the corresponding Hebrew Associations and the better known of the national fraternities, the Masons, Knights of Columbus and B'nai B'rith. They will be examined individually, for each is peculiar to itself.

I

WOMEN'S CLUBS

Numerically the most important of these is the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The Federation has

a membership of 3,000,000 women in clubs to be found almost literally in every hamlet in the United States. Only the Masonic fraternity and Roman Catholic church are comparable in extent and ubiquity of penetration. The women's clubs differ, however, in their lack of uniformity and their diversity of interest. No attempt is made to stamp them in a common or standard mold or impose on them a common program. There is not even a centralization of authority. National officers are elected and national headquarters maintained in Washington, under the presidency now of Mrs. John D. Sherman. National chairmen also are appointed to head each department, charged with the duty of stimulating interest in the subjects within the department's scope and to provide material for study and guidance when asked. The resources of the national headquarters are at the service of any individual club, but each club is free to choose what it shall occupy itself with and how. The national administration maps out policies to be submitted to the national biennial convention for ratification and carries them out if ratified. The state federations have more direct power of supervision, but essentially the individual club is autonomous.

This has its advantages and its disadvantages. The principal advantage lies in escape from regimentation. There is a certain spontaneity in the work of each club, whether the work be intrinsically valuable or not. Programs are determined by the degree of preparation and capacity of the membership. Women in a small town far from gallery and library and concert hall, to whom the language of the arts is as unfamiliar as the objects, are not constrained to artificial attempts to assimilate Brahms and Matisse and Proust all at a gulp—which does not mean that they do not often try or pretend to, nevertheless. They at least do not have to. The principal disadvantage of decentralization is that there are

no standards of accomplishment or aspiration. There is an enormous disparity in intellectual sophistication between clubs. They vary from cultivated to primitive. One, in a large urban center, studies political science from a reading course of standard works and by direct, critical, first-hand examination of governmental machinery in operation. Another, in a neighboring small town, studies literature by hearing occasional papers on Tennyson and Longfellow summarized from the encyclopedia.

Decentralization has a most definite disadvantage from the point of view of one making a study of this kind. There is no central body of information. Clubs not being accountable to the national headquarters at Washington, the national office has no systematic reports of their activities. The program of each individual club should be obtained and examined. Manifestly this would be impossible within any practical time limits. Instead, therefore, the writer has gathered and examined the reports of a large number of type clubs, clubs representative as to geographical setting, size of community and character of community.

The activities of the women's clubs, in both national and state federations and sometimes even in a community, are divided into departments. There are departments of American citizenship, the American home, applied education, fine arts, legislation, public welfare and press and publicity. Each department is in turn subdivided into divisions. It will be worth while to trace the skeleton of this organization.

The Department of American Citizenship is occupied naturally with the study of government. It has certain specific aims, such as creating respect for law, getting out the vote, promoting community citizenship days, increasing women's influence in public life. It has three divisions: the Division of Americanization—to develop a higher standard of living in foreign homes and to “in-

interpret the immigrant to America"; the Division of Citizenship Training—to encourage the study of the duties of citizenship by individual reading and club programs; and the Division of Co-operation with War Veterans.

The Department of the American Home has two purposes: first, to inculcate in members the art of living by the study of the ethics of family life, the relation of members of the family group to one another and the relations of the family group to the community; second, to bring about public realization of the importance of home-making and training for home-making and to help the home-maker to meet the problems of the home as a social institution. The Department has three divisions: the Division of Home Economics Teaching, the Division of Home Extension Service, which aims to place a home demonstration agent in every community, and the Division of Home-making, which engages specialists in nutrition, textiles, home budgeting, etc.

The Department of Applied Education has four divisions: the Division of Public Instruction, which is concerned with public school problems—vocational schools, trained advisers for pupils, continuation schools, placement bureaus, kindergartens and rural schools; the Division for the Education of Adult Citizens, which would assist in eliminating illiteracy and bring about a higher standard in moving pictures, a higher standard of speech and a public library in every county; the Division of Community Service, which would "put unity in community," and the Division of Conservation, which advocates legislation for the protection of our natural resources, birds, game and flowers.

The Department of Fine Arts has divisions of art, literature and music, which will be taken up later in detail.

The Department of International Relations is an agency for the diffusion of education in foreign affairs, with particular regard to the causes and prevention of

war. Clubs are encouraged to study subjects like American foreign policy, existing and proposed agencies of peace, appreciation of the national traits of other peoples, and other means to international understanding and co-operation. Specific Federation policies like the international court of justice, the conference method of conducting relations between nations and the appointment of more women as consuls are promoted. Movements are started for the formation of community councils to study international affairs.

The Department of Public Welfare has divisions of child welfare, public health, delinquency, problems of industry, Indian welfare and narcotics. With the exception of the Division of Problems of Industry these are all pointed toward legislative rather than educational results. The Division of Problems of Industry is now producing study outlines on unemployment, seasonal intermittency in industry and similar questions for use by clubs.

The Department of Legislation works for the enactment of legislation endorsed by the national administration and the biennial convention.

The Department of Press and Publicity issues the General Federation News, the Federation's monthly publication, and prepares material for use in the press.

The nature of these departments, so far as this study is concerned, is self-evident. Only one falls within our scope, the Department of Fine Arts. The others have a certain measure of educational value, to be sure. They send out to clubs large quantities of literature, most of it hortatory and promotional, intended to arouse interest and lead to action, but some of it also for instructional use: reading lists, syllabi and study outlines. It is not to be denied that for the individual clubwoman there may be considerable educational benefit in preparing herself to serve on a committee for the suppression of

narcotics or the passage of a conservation law. But this is what has been aptly called pointed education. It is directed to a specific end in action rather than to a subjective cultural result in the individual. The Department of Fine Arts alone comes within the definition of cultural educative effort as premised in this report—again with the clear understanding that this does not mean erudition for its own sake or the snobbish application to education of any art-for-art's sake theory. It implies only a clear distinction between education and promotion, and education and technical training.

The Department of Fine Arts, as already has been said, is administered in three divisions: art, literature and music; art here denoting painting, sculpture, architecture, landscape gardening, etc. The Division of Art carries on an ambitious and extensive program. It works through clubs devoted exclusively to the study of art and by assisting clubs having only occasional art programs. Four hundred clubs concentrate on the study of art. There are seven thousand which have at least two art programs a year. It is estimated by Mrs. Rose V. S. Berry, chairman of the division, that 22,000 art programs were given in women's clubs in the last club year. Many of these were arranged on consultation with the division and 200 of them were drawn up and sent out directly from the division offices in New York on request of the clubs. The division also maintains an illustrated lecture service, consisting of 21 lectures on subjects like art in the home, art in the garden, the development of American painting and famous masterpieces. The demand for these has been so great that some of them have been duplicated; they were sent about the country in 33 circuits in 1924. There are also traveling exhibits of modern pottery, prints and reproductions of famous paintings. Finally, the division sponsors a movement for more art objects in the home and by an arrangement with the

Grand Central Terminal Galleries in New York buys small pieces on order for club members.

The Division of Literature operates on the same lines. It issues books, pamphlets, leaflets and study outlines, some promotional only, that is, encouraging clubs to interest themselves in literature, and some having material and guidance for study. Clubs are assisted in planning programs and preparing for them, generally through the material that is sent to them and specifically through counsel given on special request. Of three outlines alone—on the drama, short story and poetry—8,500 copies have been distributed. Women are urged to have small libraries in their homes, no matter how small, and sample lists of collections that can be bought for \$25, \$50 and \$100 have been drawn up and widely distributed. The keynote of the division is to link literature to the American home.

The Division of Music is guided by the slogan, "Hear America First." It seeks generally to elevate the standard of music in the community and specifically to encourage and popularize works by American composers. Sample music programs are suggested for monthly meetings, bibliographies of literature on music are compiled, free music loan libraries are circulated, publications are prepared like the Federation Song Book, Americanization Songs and Hymns of America, contests of various kinds are organized—music memory contests, hymn memory contests, music composition contests, etc. Plans are sent out to all clubs along which to organize music weeks in their respective towns.

So much for structure. Content must also be examined. It is an axiom in education that the facade is always imposing, however dim and moldy and intellectually unventilated the interior. This is no less true of non-institutional than of institutional education. The curriculum of the college with the meagerest standards is

impressive as stated in the catalogue. The work of the extra-mural enterprise with only the faintest trace of the educational is equally impressive as stated in the annual report. Always it is safest, necessary even, to go behind the records.

In the case of the women's clubs the test lies in the character of the literature sent out, for this is the stuff of which the clubs' educational effort is made, and in the resulting programs of the individual clubs. The literature, as already has been indicated, is largely hortatory and promotional. It is designed to persuade that studying literature or art is desirable rather than to provide a course in either. That part of the literature which is not promotional is scanty and fragmentary and rather thin. The Art Division's recently published study outline on American painting consists of a list of names only—the names of American painters. The Literature Division's printed suggestion for a club program on the novel also consists only of a list of titles under a few general classifications. With the exception of a few bibliographies, reprints of magazine articles by Mrs. Marx Oberndorfer, chairman of the Music Division, and a rare paper, the Music Division's publications also are entirely promotional. That which all of these seek to promote may be a social good, but, once more, promotion is not education.

The Division of Literature, to be exact, has prepared two volumes. One, "The Living Drama," by Nellie Burget Miller, the division's chairman, is published by the Century Company. It is a history of the drama from the Greeks to the expressionist stage, with a short résumé of the outstanding dramatists and their works, suggestions for plays to be presented, lists of plays representing each school and references for further reading. It is adequate: hardly scholarly, not very critical and somewhat sentimental, but useful for beginners. The other vol-

ume is "The Political Novel," by M. E. Speare (Oxford Press). This is a synopsis of the plots of novels of that type, with some emphasis on the development of women's sphere in politics. The three study outlines already mentioned, on the drama, short story and poetry, are more fully developed than the other study outlines so-called; they are more in the nature of syllabi. As for the others, they are just lists of authors and titles. Where bibliographies are given, there is no characterization of each reference, so that even these are of doubtful utility.

So also in the Division of Art. There is one syllabus, with bibliography. The illustrated lectures, which include a prepared manuscript as well as slides, have already been mentioned. The rest consists of the sketchiest outlines and lists—just names of painters, etchers, etc., and lists of books without description, characterization, application or critical appraisal.

The Division of Music, too, has lists—names of American women composers, sometimes with their compositions and sometimes without, names of Indian songs, Negro spirituals, etc. But it goes into elaborate detail on how to organize music weeks—get newspaper publicity, enlist the co-operation of theaters and music dealers, ask the lodges and the Rotary and Kiwanis clubs to lend a hand, get the foreign-born to sing their songs, have a music memory contest with prizes for bachelors, newlyweds, pillars of the church, etc. To the end of increasing community interest in good music and elevating the standard of music in the community it advises the holding of a symposium meeting once a year. The instructions therefor consist of headings for speeches to be made: On music in the home, by the club's chairman; music in the school, by the music supervisor; music in the church, by a prominent minister; music in the motion picture theater, by a theater manager; music in public institutions, by a prominent doctor; music in the

newspaper, by a newspaperman; and on the development of musical taste, by the leading music dealer.

For the other departments the same may be said. There is a vast quantity of literature; multitudes of pamphlets and leaflets on diet and insurance and international arbitration and illiteracy and textiles. But all are the same—a few headings, sometimes with a few words of explication and more often without, sometimes with references and sometimes without.

Under proper circumstances these may be of some worth. For those who come already prepared with a knowledge of the subject, such an outline may be a useful guide in organizing study. For the vast majority of clubwomen, who of course are not so prepared, it is of small use. A woman unfamiliar with the technique of using sources, inexperienced even in knowing how to find them, can do nothing with a list of the names of American painters, say. She will not even know how to begin. It will mean nothing to her. Certainly it will help her little in the study of art. Only one accustomed to the methods of research will be able to find out anything about the names on her lists. As adjuncts to a well organized course or under the direction of a capable instructor, an outline, even a meager one, has value. Otherwise, it has little or none. The value of the literature issued by the departments of the women's clubs is at best slight.

Concrete results can be shown by citing the year's programs of a few clubs that may be called representative.

Fine Arts Club of Tennille, Georgia

September Meeting.

American Literature.

Readings by members of papers on beginnings of American literature and American pioneer prose writers.

October Meeting.

Makers of American Poetry.

Readings by members from *Thanatopsis*, *The Barefoot Boy*, *The Courtin'*, *O Captain! My Captain!*

November Meeting.

Juvenile Literature.

Readings from Joel Chandler Harris, Eugene Field, James Whitcomb Riley.

December Meeting.

Readings from American Humorists.

January Meeting.

The Novel.

Papers by members on American prose masters and a review of *The Rise of Silas Lapham*.

February Meeting.

Two Poets of the South.

Papers by members on the lives of Edgar Allan Poe and Sidney Lanier and readings from their works.

March Meeting.

American Journalism.

Papers by members on "The Power of the Printed Word," "The Influence of Present-day Journalism on American literature," and "Leading Journalists of Today."

April Meeting.

Georgia Writers.

May Meeting.

Reviews of Magazines by members.

Woman's Reading Club of Hobart, Indiana

October 16.

Difference in Indian Tribal Songs—A paper.

Higher Education for Lake County—A paper.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton—A paper.

Woman's Suffrage—A paper.

Roll call—Responses by members on famous women.

122 NEW SCHOOLS FOR OLDER STUDENTS

October 23.

Indian Composers—A paper.

Roll call—Responses by members with quotations from James Whitcomb Riley.

November 6.

Teutonic Influence on American Music—A paper.

Restricting Foreign Immigration and Americanizing Our Homes—A paper.

Parliamentary quiz—The members.

Roll call—Responses by the members on current events.

January 15.

Music in the Home—A paper.

The Trained Parent—A paper.

The Normal Child—A paper.

Punishments and Playmates—A paper.

January 22.

Club songs—The members.

Lawyers and Lawmakers—An address by Judge Norton of Crown Point.

Roll call—Responses by members on current events.

February 5.

American Negro Composers of Today—A paper.

Biography of Booker T. Washington—A paper.

Round Table—Why Educate the Negro?

March 26.

Development of Music in America before and after the Civil War—A paper.

Birds—A lecture by Mrs. Coffin of Chicago.

Roll call—Responses by members with bird conundrums.

Woman's Club of Hartford, Connecticut

October 2.

Report of the biennial convention.

Experiences of a Writer and Senator's Wife—a lecture by Frances Parkinson Keyes.

October 16.

American Poetry Recital.

November 6.

Violin and Vocal Recital.

November 20.

The Changing Heroine in Fiction—A lecture, by Odell Shepard of Trinity College.

December 4.

Intimate Recollections of My Brother—A lecture, by Corinne Douglas Robinson.

December 18.

Italy of Today—A lecture, by Charles Upson Clark.

January 15.

Education for Democracy—A lecture, by Arthur E. Bestor.

February 5.

Russia—A lecture, by Mme. Pierre Ponafidine.

February 19.

Speaking Drama for Children versus the Movies—A lecture, by Alice M. Hertz Heniger, of the Children's Educational Theater, New York City.

March 5.

Why the Whole World Should Sing—A lecture by George Chadwick Stock with solos.

March 19.

Methods of Identification—A lecture by Captain Grant Williams, formerly of the New York City police.

April 2.

Immigration and Americanization—A lecture by Frederick A. Wallis, former Commissioner of Immigration.

April 16.

Law Enforcement—a lecture by Mabel Walker Willebrandt.

Once a month lectures on current events were given by Glenn Frank through the season.

Wednesday Club of St. Louis

ART SECTION

American Cities as Art Centers.

October 29—New York.

Architecture and Sculpture—A paper.

Museums and Collections—A paper.

November 26—Boston.

Art Schools—A paper.

Collections—A paper.

Picturesque Boston—A paper.

January 28—Washington.

Points of Interest—A paper.

Collections—A paper.

February 18—Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

Art Schools of Philadelphia—A paper.

Parks and Suburbs of Philadelphia—A paper.

Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh—A paper.

March 18.

Chicago—A paper.

St. Louis—A paper.

April 22.

Musical Art Centers of America—Two papers.

CURRENT TOPICS SECTION

Discussion of current topics at each monthly meeting: problems in the newspapers, a book review by a member, a paper like "Romance in the Fashions of Today," current poetry, etc.

DRAMATIC STUDY SECTION

Weekly reading and study of a contemporary play.

EDUCATION SECTION

October 15.

Federal Legislation on Education—A paper.

Comparison of Missouri's Education Laws with Best of Other States—A paper.

November 12—Nursery Schools.

Arguments for and against Pre-school Education—A paper.

Psychology of the Pre-school Child—A paper.

Some Nursery Schools in United States and England—A paper.

December 10.

Schools for the Physically Handicapped—Three papers.

February 18.

Technical Schools—A paper.

Antioch College—A paper.

Schools of Physical Education—A paper.

March 11.

Adult and Continuation Schools—Papers and discussion.

April 15.

Comparison of American and European Schools—Papers and discussion.

HISTORY AND LITERATURE SECTION

Social Problems in English and American Fiction.

October 8.

Dickens the Social Reformer—A paper.

Thackeray, the Social Satirist—A paper.

George Eliot and the Social Conscience—A paper.

November 19.

Novels of Protest: Kingsley and Reade—A paper.

The Novel and Social Unrest: Bronte, Gaskell and Sir Walter Besant—A paper.

Hardy and Meredith—A paper.

January 21.

Wells, the Social Prophet—A paper.

Shaw, the Social Critic—A paper.

Galsworthy, the Social Dramatist—A paper.

February 25.

Utopian Ideals—A paper.

Social Ideals in Current English Fiction.

March 25.

The Novel of the Earlier Period—A paper.

The Novel of the Later Period—A paper.

POETRY SECTION

October 15: Shelley.

November 19: Keats and Byron.

December 17: Pre-Raphaelites.

January 7: The two Rosettis.

February 11: Modern English poets.

March 18: Modern English poets.

(Fifteen minutes was devoted at every meeting to the reading of current verse.)

SCIENCE SECTION

October 29: The Gift of Life.

November 26: Evolution.

January 21: Electric Power.

February 11: The New Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.

March 4: The Tale of Thread.

April 16: The Soil of the Field and the Life of the Race.

(A review of current science was given at every meeting by a member.)

SOCIAL ECONOMY SECTION

Problems of Economic Life.

October 22: Finance.

December 10: Labor and Co-operation.

January 28: Production.

February 25: Distribution.

March 25: Consumption.

April 15: Economic Experience.

It should be noted that in those sections where only the general subject of every meeting is given above, the program varied, sometimes set papers being arranged but more often round table discussion following the direction of a leader.

Woman's Club of Iowa City, Iowa

GENERAL PROGRAM

October 17.

The Care of the Mother—A paper by Helen F. Boyd, director of the School of Public Health Nursing.

November 21.

Respect for the Law—A paper by Dean Henry C. Jones of the University of Iowa.

January 16.

Around the World in 1924—A paper.

March 20.

Interior Decoration Meeting.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

November 28.

Vitamines—A lecture by Dr. D. M. Griswold.

December 26.

Influence of Mind on Health—A paper.

January 28.

Recent Steps in Solving Medical Problems—A paper by Dr. Zella White Stewart.

March 27.

Factors Which Control Health—A paper by Dr. Amy L. Daniels.

April 24.

Safety and Food—A paper by Dr. Amy L. Daniels.

GARDEN SECTION

Monthly papers by members on such subjects as starting new gardens, books and catalogues on gardening, raising your own fruit, evergreens for Iowa, pruning, etc.

INTERIOR DECORATION AND CRAFTS SECTION

Meetings on alternate Mondays with papers and occasional exhibitions and some classes in painting and weaving.

FINE ARTS SECTION

October 7.

Community Singing.

Recital

Missouri Waltz

Lift Thine Eyes

Selections from "A Brahmin Garden"—by F. L. Logan

Recital—by Clarence Whitehill

November 4.

Community Singing.

Beginnings of American Sculpture—A paper by a member.

December 2.

Tannhäuser—A paper, with group singing.

January 6.

Community Singing.

Architectural and Decorative Sculpture at the Chicago World's Fair—A paper by a member.

February 3.

A concert.

March 3.

Die Meistersinger—A paper, with solos.

May 5.

Discussion on outdoor sculpture, garden sculpture, memorial sculpture.

LITERATURE SECTION

October 7.

"His Children's Children," by Arthur Train—A paper by a member.

"A Son at the Front," by Edith Wharton—A paper by a member.

"The Homemaker," by Dorothy Canfield—A paper by a member.

November 4.

The Jefferson Family on the American Stage—A paper by a member.

"Footlights and Spotlights," by Otis Skinner—A paper by a member.

December 2.

Literary appreciation of Tannhäuser—Papers and discussion.

January 6.

James Whitcomb Riley—A paper by a member.

Ruth Suckow's "Country People"—A paper by a member.

February 3.

Papini's "Life of Christ"—A paper by a member.

Chesterton's "St. Francis of Assisi"—A paper by a member.

March 3.

Literary appreciation of Die Meistersinger—A paper by a member.

April 7.

Papers by members on contemporary poets: Marguerite Wilkinson, Sara Teasdale, Alice Meynell.

May 5.

The memoirs of August Thomas—A paper by a member.

Readings from "The Copperhead."

June 2.

The Old New York of Edith Wharton—A paper by a member.

GOVERNMENT SECTION

October 10.

Party Platforms—A lecture by K. H. Porter of the University of Iowa.

December 12.

Government Ownership, Leasing and Disposal of Property
—A lecture by Dr. Pollock of the University of Iowa.

January 9.

Increasing Authority of the Federal Government—A lecture by John E. Briggs of the University of Iowa.

February 13.

The Federal Budget—A lecture by R. G. Walker of the University of Iowa.

March 13.

The Civic Budget—A lecture by R. G. Walker of the University of Iowa.

April 10.

The Home Budget—A lecture by a speaker from the Home Economics Department of the University of Iowa.

May 15.

Efficiency in Every Day Life—A lecture by Clyde W. Hart of the University of Iowa.

CURRENT MAGAZINE SECTION

Semi-monthly meetings, "to draw as near as possible through authentic current magazines to the truth about contemporary world problems."

Woman's Club of Hudson, Michigan

October 7.

The Men and the Issues (of the 1924 campaign)—An address.

History and Achievements of the Democratic Party—An address by John W. Miner.

October 21—Philanthropic Day.

Pilgrimage by members to infirmary; gifts and entertainment for the inmates.

November 11.

Why Peace?—A lecture by Miss Buell of Ypsilanti State Normal College.

December 9—Educational Day.

Address by Dr. W. O. Spencer, president of Hillsdale College.

February 24—Drama Day.

Dramatic Successes of 1924 at Home—A paper by a member.

Dramatic Successes of 1924 Abroad—A paper by a member.

*Woman's Club of Berlin, New Hampshire**November 12.*

Democracy in Germany—A lecture by Fred A. Moore.

December 10.

You May Have What You Want—A lecture by the Rev. H. S. Bradley.

December 24—MacDowell Afternoon.

Readings of papers and music.

January 7.

"In Walked Jimmy"—Entertainment by E. M. Whitney, interpreter of plays.

January 14.

Blessed Be Humor—Lecture by J. L. Harbour.

March 4.

Evening of Chamber Music.

There is no need to make further citations. These are representative programs, representative of clubs at every social and intellectual level. In conclusion, women's clubs have two phases, each of which must be borne in

mind in any broad consideration of their place in American life. They must be viewed as a social agency as well as an educational institution. It is not within the purview of this report to weigh them as to the first. It may be admitted that the national system of clubs has contributed much of benefit. It has made women socially conscious, given them a sense of social responsibility and may also equip them in a measure to exercise their responsibility. It is of advantage to American life that 3,000,000 women are banded together to improve the quality of teaching in the public schools, protect national resources, raise the standards of motion pictures, safeguard national health and ensure better government—not begging the question now as to whether they really contribute to those ends. Even the achievement of these undoubted social goods does not necessarily entail a process of education. True, the women who further these causes must become somewhat broader in their outlook, though not necessarily. At best, their eyes may be opened, even if they are not made seeing. No more can be said than that. The social value of the work of the Federation of Women's Clubs may be great. Its educational value is slight. But if this be true now, it is not irrevocably so; and those elements within the Federation which are aware of the truth—there are such—can if they persist change it. The impulse which has carried the women's clubs so far can and, one has reason to hope, will carry them further.

II

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

The National Council of Jewish Women is organized in much the same way as the General Federation of

Women's Clubs. It has a membership of 55,000 in 200 sections (as they are called) throughout the country. Its interests and activities do not differ widely from those of the Federation of Women's Clubs, except in so far as they are particularly Jewish in character and application. The Council also is a little more politically minded and leans more toward the League of Women Voters, with which it has an unofficial connection.

The Council has a national committee on education which sponsors activities having to do mainly with children and their needs, such activities as surveys of existing public school facilities and agitation for better, campaigns for more advanced school legislation and association with agencies like Parent-Teacher organizations, vocational education bureaus and Boy Scouts, etc. In the recommendations of the committee on education, printed and sent out to all sections, there is one heading: "Educational Work for Your Members." Under this heading are recommended courses for self-culture in the following subjects: mothercraft, diet, child hygiene, child psychology, citizenship, patriotic peace education, better-English classes, current events, parliamentary practice, music, art, lectures.

The national committee only makes recommendations. Execution is left to the local sections, each acting according to its lights and desires, although efforts are now under way for greater co-ordination. Mrs. Charles Wyzanski, chairman of the committee on education, informs the writer that there is a great demand for outlines of courses, "The appeals naturally coming from sections not having access to university extension courses." Outlines are therefore being prepared and sent to all sections as soon as completed. Such as the writer has seen are suggested reading lists mainly. The study outline for English literature is a bibliography of the best works on the history of English literature, with recommendations of

the classics, a sort of two-foot shelf. The national officers are conscious of the deficiencies and hope to make improvements suggested by experience.

In some sections there is more intensive work. These are the ones to which more opportunities are offered. In Boston, for instance, there is a course given by a Harvard professor every year and sometimes more than one. Other courses of lectures are given at frequent intervals; one, for instance, on "Woman and the Law," by Mrs. Jennie Littmann Barron, a member of the bar. Single lectures are given fairly regularly. This would be typical of the program of any section in large cities. The sections of the National Council also share in the political studies and institutes of the League of Women Voters, which will be detailed later. It should be explained that this work is limited chiefly to large cities, where the Jewish population is sufficiently numerous for organized effort. The National Council of Jewish Women is an organization of limited scope. It must always emphasize the Jewish element in its interests and purposes, else it merely duplicates the Federation of Women's Clubs, to which so many of its members also belong.

III

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

The National League of Women Voters is an organization with a limited objective. It concentrates on political education, having been formed after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment with the purpose of helping the newly enfranchised women to use the ballot intelligently. It carries on its work by means of the publication of literature and the organization of group discussions, classes, round tables, citizenship schools and insti-

tutes of government and politics. The work is intensified but generally thorough.

The League has a national board but functions mainly through its local centers, in states, congressional districts and cities. The basic unit is the congressional district, but in some cities there are independent municipal leagues. There are leagues in three-fourths of the congressional districts and in 44 of the 48 states. In 26 states headquarters with paid staffs are maintained, and in 1924 fifteen cities had their own offices with paid staffs. They were: New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Atlanta, Savannah, Birmingham, Cleveland, Dayton (Ohio), Cincinnati, St. Louis, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis and San Francisco. As a rule the national board determines policies which later are submitted to the states for approval. Sometimes also policies originate in the states in reflection of local needs and the national board serves as a medium of exchange between states. The national president of the League is Miss Belle Sherwin, successor to Mrs. Maud Wood Park, president during the League's first four years.

The national board of directors is divided into two groups. There are the national officers, each of whom is responsible for one branch of the work, and the seven regional directors, each in charge of a group of states. The regional directors co-ordinate the work in their districts, make known the needs of their states to the national board and interpret the plans of the national board to the states. Each state and district league has its own treasury and budget. The national board had a separate budget of \$135,000 in 1924. The state and local leagues raise their own funds and make their own budgets without reference or even report to the national headquarters at Washington. Nor are they compelled to make detailed report of their work. The League of Women Voters also is organized on a principle of local autonomy.

To quote from Mrs. Park's last report as president: "So much that is done is never reported outside the states that probably the major part of the League's work cannot be given in any collective way."

In the year 1924 two institutes were held under the auspices of the national board, one in Ann Arbor and one in San Francisco; 84 institutes and citizenship schools were held under state direction, and 3,632 study meetings were conducted by 283 local leagues. Definite efforts were made to relate the last-named meetings to the program of the League. In addition, local leagues in 28 states reported 585 study groups and 26 local schools for the same year.

The schools and institutes under state direction were distributed as follows:

California	1	Minnesota	34
Connecticut	1	Missouri	2
Delaware	2	Montana	1
Idaho	1	New Jersey	4
Illinois	10	New York	4
Iowa	2	North Carolina	2
Kansas	2	North Dakota	1
Kentucky	3	Ohio	1
Massachusetts	2	Rhode Island	4
Michigan	5	Wisconsin	2
			<hr/> 84

The schools and study groups under the auspices of local leagues were distributed as follows:

Alabama	9 local schools
California	5 study groups
Connecticut	1 local school
Delaware	2 study groups
Georgia	1 local school
Illinois	20 study groups
Indiana	3 local schools
Iowa	1 study group
Kansas	11 study groups

Kentucky	16 study groups
Maryland	2 local schools
Massachusetts	2 local schools
Michigan	3 study groups
Minnesota	20 study groups
Missouri	1 local school
Montana	5 study groups
Nebraska	18 study groups, 1 local school
New Hampshire	5 study groups
New Jersey	18 study groups
North Carolina	5 study groups
North Dakota	2 study groups
Ohio	3 local schools
Pennsylvania	420 study groups
South Dakota	1 local school
Texas	1 study group
Vermont	2 study groups
West Virginia	1 study group, 2 local schools
Wisconsin	30 study groups

As subjects for school and study group programs questions at issue in elections and questions growing out of international relations and affecting world peace are most popular. Next are taxation and budget making, tariff and living costs, methods of public administration, child labor, congress and state legislatures, the merit system, legislation and social progress, schools, immigration, law enforcement and the short ballot.

An institute was held under the auspices of the national board at Ann Arbor in July, 1924. There were five days of morning and afternoon sessions, round tables and evening lectures. Those who took the full course numbered 55; nine enrolled for a half course and one hundred attended single lectures. The fee for the full course was \$8 and for a two-hour session \$1.25. The director was Edward H. Kraus and the program was drawn by Miss Helen M. Rocca, secretary of political education of the national board. Those who gave courses and conducted round tables included Thomas H. Reed, professor of

political science at the University of Michigan; J. Ralston Hayden, associate professor of political science at the University of Michigan; Arthur E. Wood, professor of sociology at the University of Michigan; Maximo M. Kalaw, dean of the University of the Philippines; Arthur S. Aiton, instructor in history at the University of Michigan, and the directors of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit Citizens' League and similar bodies. Lectures also were given by Professor James T. Shotwell, Miss Ruth Morgan, Mr. William P. Lovett and others. The meetings were all open to the public, of course.

Three or four lectures were heard daily, followed by questions or discussion. In the course of the week there were four round tables, the subjects being state and county administration, political parties and nominating methods, legislation and social progress and international relations. Some of the lecture subjects were: Public Employment, Public Finance, Political Parties, Nominating Methods, An Analysis of Non-voting, Lawmaking Bodies, The Basis and Aims of Social Education, Legislation Regarding Wages and Hours of Labor for Women, Legislation Affecting Child Welfare, The Control of Foreign Relations, America's Relations with the Far East, Hispanic-American Relations, Popular Methods of Teaching Government, The Proposed World Treaty on Disarmament and Security, the last by Professor Shotwell.

A three-day institute was conducted by the St. Louis league in March of 1925. The program follows:

March 24

Morning Session.

Types of Municipal Government—Address by Professor Thomas H. Reed of the University of Michigan.

The St. Louis Charter—Address by Judge Henry S. Caulfield.

Luncheon.

Law Enforcement—Address by ex-Governor Charles S. Whitman.

Afternoon Session.

Co-ordination of St. Louis Courts—Address by Arthur V. Lashly.

The Juvenile Court and Court of Domestic Relations—Address by Judge John W. Calhoun.

*March 25**Morning Session—Paying the Cost of City Government.*

The Tax Dollar of Tomorrow—Address by Chester E. Rightor.

The St. Louis Budget—Address by Felix E. Gunn.

Luncheon.

Lines of Cleavage in the Old South—Address by Professor Ulrich B. Phillips of the University of Michigan.

Afternoon Session—Efficiency in City Government.

Efficiency versus the Spoils System—Address by Charles E. Rightor.

The St. Louis Efficiency Board—Address by Professor Charles Edward Cullen of Washington University, St. Louis.

*March 26**Morning Session—The Public and the Public School.*

Schools and Politics—Address by Dean Paul C. Packer of the University of Iowa.

Our Board of Education and the Public—Address by E. M. Grossman.

Round Table Luncheon.

Traffic and Transportation—Discussion led by Paul Bakewell, Jr.

The Relation of the Public School Teacher to the Administrative Staff—Discussion led by Dr. Frank L. Wright.

Functions of the Intermediate School in the Public School System—Discussion led by Mr. Forrest E. Long.

The Dawes Plan—Discussion led by Dr. Harold G. Moulton of the Institute of Economics.

International Dinner.

Economic Lessons of the Great War—Address by Dr. Moulton.

It should be added that all the speakers before the institute whose titles are not designated were public officials or technical experts.

A three-day institute was conducted by the Erie County League in Buffalo in October, 1924. Its program follows:

October 27

Afternoon Session.

The Use of the Political Parties—Address by State Senator Parton Swift.

Political Parties and the Individual—Address by Professor Dexter Perkins of the University of Rochester.

Evening Session.

Issues of the Campaign—Addresses by Judge Luella R. North, Miss Frances Perkins and Miss Mary Brier, presenting the points of view of the Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties.

October 28

Afternoon Session.

The Extension of Federal Control (with special reference to the child labor amendment)—Address by Professor Niles Carpenter of the University of Buffalo.

The History of a Bill in the State Legislature—Address by Mrs. Samuel J. Bens, state chairman of the committee on education of the League of Women Voters.

Evening Session.

The Tariff—Address by Mrs. Harris T. Baldwin, chairman of the committee on living costs of the National League of Women Voters.

Some Aspects of Federal Taxation—Address by Professor Oliver C. Lockhart of the University of Buffalo.

October 29

Afternoon Session.

Round Table—Possible Improvement in the State Registration Laws.

The Presidency and the Electoral College—Address by Professor H. A. Hamilton of Elmira College.

Proposed Changes in the Federal Supreme Court—Address by Helen L. Reid, instructor in the University of Buffalo.

It should be noted that questions and discussions followed all of the addresses.

These are only a few of the institutes held throughout the country. Those have been chosen which are on the highest level; they represent the standard to which the League is trying to bring all its institutes. Even those which are held in smaller communities and for a shorter period do not fall below the standard with regard to the type of speakers invited. In practically every case the speaker, if not an expert, has some qualification for leading discussion.

The plan of organization of the national league is in three departments: Efficiency in Government, Public Welfare in Government and International Co-operation to Prevent War. The program of each department comprehends two stages: first study, then recommendation for legislation, the first stage usually lasting a year. Methods of operation are through instruction and discussion, public meetings on special subjects, candidates' meetings, ballot-marking classes, study groups and round tables, citizenship schools and institutes; through observation by fact-finding groups and visits to legislative bodies, administrative boards, etc.; through conferences with public officials on special problems and with experts on technical subjects; through training of speakers and discussion leaders; through publication of bulletins of information and analysis, and through encouraging

the participation of the electorate in all affairs of government.

The Department of Efficiency in Government takes up such matters as state registration laws, presidential primaries, problems of legislative bodies, simplification of government administration, methods of amending the Constitution, shorter ballot, merit system and the budget system.

The Department of Public Welfare in Government has committees for study and action on child welfare, public education, legal status of women, living costs, social hygiene and women in industry.

The Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War studies the World Court, League of Nations, Dawes Plan, inter-Allied debts, and particularly American foreign policy, past and present. It recommends for legislation American entry into the World Court, co-operation for disarmament, codification of international law and constructive efforts for peace.

The concrete expression of these aims is by study groups and institutes, as already outlined, using the material published and distributed from Washington. There is a large quantity of such publications from brochures of one hundred pages or more to single-sheet dodgers. There are texts, reading lists and study outlines. These are authoritative, complete and well annotated. The Reading List on Government and politics, for instance, is the work of Herman H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer of the Library of Congress. It is a list of 26 standard works of reference on government—expository, historical and analytical, with a few volumes also on the human material and human interest of politics. The contents of each volume are summarized briefly and its application is indicated. It has also a detailed, classified index telling at a glance where references on any subject germane to politics and the problems of government may be found.

It is an invaluable aid to political study, more particularly for those not scholars by training or profession. "Parties, Politics and People" is a brochure of one hundred pages by Professor Raymond Moley of Barnard College. It contains a succinct exposition of the history of political parties, an analysis of contemporary parties, an assessment of the successes and failures of representative government and a statement of the problems confronting political democracy. This is an admirable book, authoritative in content and simple in style, concise yet comprehensive, and wholly unbiased. A smaller pamphlet, equally good, has been written by Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago on the party convention system and the direct primary. Another by Helen M. Rocca, the League's secretary of political education, is on Federal and state lawmaking bodies, describing them as to constitution and practice, analyzing their successes and failures and recommending ways to make them more effective. It, too, has a useful bibliography. "Know Your Town" is a booklet containing ten sets of twenty questions each to be used in a social and political survey. A similar one is used for the county. They are combined with study outlines preparing for a critical analysis of government.

These outlines, however brief, are a basis for study. Unlike the publications of the women's clubs, they are documented and supplemented with references that really guide. The literature of the League is as a whole sophisticated and admirably done; it has substance; and it is well adapted to the needs of the layman and non-student, without any dilution of content. The same may be said of the work of the League of Women Voters as a whole. It is not, of course, of uniform grade. Much depends on variable local factors: the kind of community, the kind of population and the personality of the leaders. What is most important as a criterion is that

a conscious effort is made to set and maintain a standard. The best of the publications and the best administered of the institutes show toward what the League is aiming. Finally the League is limited as an educational factor, consciously so. It is at the most an agency of political education, but within those self-imposed limitations a competent agency.

IV

THE Y. M. C. A.

The Young Men's Christian Association is the most highly organized of the bodies under discussion and the first to have undertaken educational work. It began in 1866 with classes in four associations and sixty students. In 1880 there were schools in 61 associations, with 167 classes and 4,000 students. In 1889 it had 14,000 students and in 1900 there were 24,000. Now there are 100,000 in 350 schools. Inclusive of the formal schools, 604 city associations report some kind of educational activity.

The need revealed and met, however, was and still is a special one. The Association itself estimates that 75% of its educational work is vocational. It cannot even be said that the remaining quarter represents cultural education in the sense in which we are considering it, for most of this quarter is required academic work for entrance in college or professional schools. The students who take these courses are in the vast majority young men who have had to go into gainful occupations before finishing their academic work and are using their leisure hours to make up their prerequisites. If not, they are taking actual professional work, like law.

The proportion of each broad division of courses of-

ferred, the social ranks from which students are drawn and the age groups drawn from, are given in the subjoined tables, all of which are taken from the bulletin prepared for the United States Bureau of Education by Mr. William F. Hirsch, executive secretary of the United Y. M. C. A. schools (William F. Hirsch: Educational Work of the Young Men's Christian Association. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1923, No. 7.)

Enrollment in courses: 1921-1922.

Commercial subjects.....	56,524	or 48.7%
Industrial subjects	19,690	17
Professional subjects	7,732	6.7
Academic subjects	16,393	14.1
Socio-civic subjects	15,701	13.5
	<hr/>	
	116,040	

Ages of pupils in one school with 5,000 pupils.

15—17.....	10.8%
18—20.....	17
21—23.....	18.6
24—26.....	22.3
27—29.....	14
30—32.....	7.9
33—35.....	5
36—39.....	2.5
40	4

Occupations of students in Chicago schools.

Producing and manufacturing.....	37 %
Merchandizing and distribution.....	19.5
Managing, clerical, recording.....	41
Professional and serving.....	2.5

These tables are not based on figures for the whole enrollment, but the writer is informed by the Association that they may be taken as representative. Similar analyses for the whole enrollment do not exist. From

them it will be seen that more than half of the students—54.9%—are in the twenties, the period in which young men are seeking to get themselves established after having just found themselves. In the period 18 to 30 are included 71.9%, almost three-quarters. This, taken together with the fact that at least nine-tenths of the students are factory or office workers, leads logically to the distribution of courses: two-thirds in commercial and industrial subjects.

Of the academic subjects that comprise 14% of the total, practically all are high school subjects required for college entrance and taken in the day or night schools which prepare for college or professional schools of law, dentistry and the like. The curricula of these schools do not differ from those of any similar school. There is also some college work. In Youngstown, Ohio, the Young Men's Christian Association conducts a college of liberal arts, intended for graduates of the association's day and evening high schools.

The socio-civic subjects include occasional and isolated courses in sociology, psychology and economics and the Americanization courses. The latter include rudimentary English for foreigners, civics, elements of American history and something of the principles of the Constitution. These courses are primarily for aliens qualifying for naturalization and are not very intensive. Generally they consist of twenty weekly lessons of two hours each. By socio-civic subjects are meant also courses given in vocational and professional curricula, not directly vocational or professional in their bearing. The accounting curriculum, for instance, which extends over a period of three and sometimes four years, includes some work in economics and the principles of business from the social point of view. The curriculum of marketing includes a course in social psychology.

In this connection Mr. William F. Hirsch, executive

secretary of the United Y. M. C. A. schools, writing in the bulletin already quoted (p.5), says:

"It (the Y.M.C.A.'s educational policy) may be vocational but at the same time liberalizing and socio-civic results may be aimed at and secured. At the present time more than 75 per cent of the Y.M.C.A. educational work is vocational in its major objective. Unit courses, vocational in themselves, are combined in curricula extending liberalizing aims. Students entering with special vocational interests are increasingly enrolled in curricula whose objectives are not limited to vocational development."

On inquiry the "courses of definitely liberalizing aims" have been found to refer to the courses in economics, principles of business, business psychology, etc., already discussed as socio-civic subjects. No specific data exist to illustrate concretely the last sentence of Mr. Hirsch's statement. It refers apparently to the extension of marketing and salesmanship courses into banking, economics, business psychology etc., also already discussed. The association has no records showing continuity of work or sequence in student enrollments, and there is no way consequently of indicating how many students proceed from study of occupational subjects to the study of subjects for their own sake. In view of the negligible proportion of courses not directly occupational, the presumption is that the proportion of such students also is negligible. The organized class work of the Y. M. C. A. may be called almost entirely occupational.

As a matter of fact, the Association has underemphasized non-occupational education for definite material reasons. There has been more demand for occupational education and on a familiar principle the Association has supplied the demand. As one Association official told the writer: "The cultural element is harder to sell. You can only do educational work as you find support for it.

We have to offer the types of education they are willing to pay for." Institutional and budgetary necessities have compelled the Association to make the appeal to which response comes easiest—the appeal to men to increase their earning capacity—in order to put its schools on a firm and, if possible, self-supporting basis. That being achieved, it might extend its work into the humanities. In the estimation of those who determine the Association's policies, the time to do so has not yet come. In this connection it should be observed that the condition of self-support has not yet been reached. For the fiscal year 1923-1924 the expenses of the educational department of the city associations were \$4,394,300 and the income was \$3,976,470, leaving a deficit of \$417,830. In the meantime the Association believes it healthier from all points of view, including its own, to satisfy a demand that arises spontaneously and genuinely than to seek to create artificially a demand for cultural education. But it should be observed that the demand for vocational education is, if not created, then at least stimulated by elaborate machinery of advertising, publicity and promotion which has been perfected by the Association. No doubt it is easier to stimulate.

All this deals with only one phase of the Y. M. C. A.'s work: its formal schools. There is another phase, of equally great educational value: the more informal activities like clubs, lectures, forums, concerts. In the number of individuals touched this is the more important phase, but, being more intangible and less centralized in organization, its influence is more difficult to trace and calculate.

First of all, there are the forums and lectures. In the fiscal year 1923-1924 a total of 10,877 lectures was given to adult audiences in the whole country. The audience varied with the size of the community, of course, but the average is estimated officially at 60—or a total attendance

of some 650,000. In addition, between 75 and 100 city associations conducted open forums, meeting weekly as a rule, attended by from 25 to 200. Thus, with allowance for duplicate attendance, a million men were present at lectures or open discussions that year.

The subject matter of these lectures and their weight vary with local conditions and special circumstances: size of community, character of the population (whether industrial or shopping center), personnel of the secretariat and personality of the lecturer. Religion is the most frequent topic. Next is health. Then come public affairs, science, economics, personal habits and many not so easy to classify. Since each local association is autonomous in this respect and there is no national uniformity of program or policy, there is no national body of data for analysis.

The character of the open forums varies similarly. They may be just lectures, with a few perfunctory questions at the conclusion, or they may be spirited discussions. From the writer's own observation they are more often the former. In order to raise their level and stimulate discussion the International Committee, with headquarters in New York, has taken to providing bulletins for use by forum leaders, with a plan of discussion and a procedure for arousing debate. Notes and bibliographical references are provided for the leader.

Of equal importance with lectures and forums are the men's clubs. These, too, being local in organization and dependent upon local conditions, are difficult to assess for educational value. They run the whole scale from trivial to scholarly. There are debating clubs which once a week argue some question of social, national or international import; current topics clubs which meet weekly to discuss the events of the week; history clubs for men interested in reading or discussing history; radio, glee, mandolin, camera, dramatic clubs; a club, in fact, to fit

every group interest. The total number of clubs in all the local associations is put at 13,300. A relatively new department for the Association is what is known as the Industrial Relations Service. Young men from the colleges are trained to go into industrial plants to start discussion groups, hold meetings, etc. The object is, however, inspirational rather than educational. It seeks to inculcate ideals of service rather than to increase learning.

For concrete illustration it may be worth while to take one association and outline its activities. In order to show what is aimed at rather than what is always accomplished, a highly developed center will be taken rather than a typical one—Brooklyn Central, which with 10,000 members is the largest local association in the country. In Brooklyn there is, first, the organized school, including an evening high school, of Regents' standing. There are a literary and debating club, a timely topics club, a glee club, a symphony orchestra, a dramatic club, a choral society, an outing club and a weekly forum led by a minister of note, an educator or an official and attended by 150 on an average. The glee club gives the conventional college glee club programs. The symphony orchestra has monthly concerts, which touch only the outer edge of musical literature, however. The writer has examined the orchestra's entire repertoire: it is exclusively of the Overture to William Tell, Poet and Peasant, Träumerei, Moszkowski Serenade order, on the whole much more "popular" than, say, the Central Park summer concerts. Dramatic performances are given three or four times a year, one-act plays being preferred as a rule. One year Susan Glaspell's "Suppressed Desires" was presented but the usual offerings are lighter, more in the nature of the old-fashioned drawing room piece. The current topics club meets each Tuesday night to discuss events recorded in the newspapers. The literary and debating society meets Sat-

urday evenings, with a program that sometimes includes papers on literary or social topics but usually is confined to a debate. The outing club makes expeditions to museums, industrial plants and social institutions. In addition, there is a weekly health talk; and, of course, a full program of religious meetings: heart-to-heart talks, fireside chats, Bible classes, "what's on your heart," etc., etc. Finally, there are a library of 7,500 volumes, chiefly on technical and commercial subjects, and a reading room with the usual periodicals.

Nothing has been said here about physical and religious education, because they do not concern the purpose of this study, but they must be mentioned, with the comment that they constitute the larger part of the Association's activities. The Young Men's Christian Association, in summary, affords valuable opportunities for men to learn trades and professions, helps to build up the health of the nation's young manhood and no doubt exerts a salutary moral influence, but its part in cultural education is so small as to be almost negligible. The Association is aware of its deficiency in this respect. It has hopes of remedying the deficiency but as yet no definite plans.

V

THE Y. W. C. A.

The Young Women's Christian Association, although entirely separate from and independent of the Young Men's Christian Association, has had a similar development on the whole and functions along the same general lines. It is a little more than sixty years old and has a membership of 430,000, of whom 345,000 are in cities, 66,000 in towns and 19,000 in rural communities—towns are communities of 25,000 inhabitants and

under. It has an annual expenditure of \$23,000,000. The Association's influence reaches a larger number, however, since many who are not formal members share some of its privileges.

The Young Women's Christian Association in its educational program has taken a different method of approach from the Young Men's Christian Association. Its tendency latterly has been away from formal class work and toward clubs, lectures, study groups and groups with other common interests which can be given practical outlet. Only in the larger urban centers are there organized schools, and class work as a whole is likely to be for beginners only. The nature of the work offered tends to be decreasingly vocational and increasingly cultural—bearing in mind the limitations imposed by the human material given it to work with. This tendency promises to be yet more emphasized in the future.

The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association has what is called an Education and Research Division, charged with the study of abstract educational questions on the one hand and the needs, on the other, of those whom the Association serves.

In its booklet issued in 1924, *Educational Principles and Methods*, (New York: Woman's Press) the Education and Research Division opens with a statement of its belief

"that the aim of all education is to develop and release personality that women everywhere may experience and share with others abundant life."

It continues:

"If Young Women's Christian Associations accept as the goal of their education the development and release of personality, it inevitably follows that girls, not subjects, must be the center of all educational planning. There is need of

educational institutions established and maintained for the express purpose of giving instruction in specific subjects. It is entirely proper that medicine should be the basis and the center of the work of medical schools, law of law schools, engineering of engineering schools, agriculture of agricultural schools. But the Young Women's Christian Association is not such an educational institution. A Young Women's Christian Association which should select a subject, or groups of subjects, and build its plans around such a center would be thereby negating the fundamental reason for its existence as an educational institution. For the Young Women's Christian Association exists for the sake of the girl. It has no interest in any subject whatsoever save as it will contribute to the development of her personality. Her needs and the ways by which those needs may best be met must be the determining factors in all its educational work."

Further, in application of this principle:

"Time was when classes and lectures were looked upon as the only media through which education, other than manual, could properly be given. That time has long since passed. We are realizing with increasing clearness that some of the most effective education comes by way of less formal channels. . . . Forums and study groups are steadily gaining in popularity, and deservedly so, for they have been proven to be among the most effective methods of education. . . . Much of the most valuable education in many Associations is carried on through the clubs."

So much for purpose. As to organization policy, the Education and Research Division, in a mimeographed statement entitled "Talking Points on the Unified Educational Program," lays down the following principles:

"If any educational activity is popular enough to be self-supporting, so much the better. If it is not, self-support should not be made a condition of undertaking it. The condition should be that some girl needs it.

"Only when it is supplying a demand already felt can edu-

cation be expected to be self-supporting. The more vital task of education is to keep ahead of popular demand, stimulating the points of view, the system of thought, the realization of latent possibilities, out of which popular demands grow. In the nature of things, this kind of education cannot be self-supporting. The Y.W.C.A. can do one of two things with its educational department.

- (1) Give the public what it wants; supply popular demands, meeting expenses through fees.
- (2) Be an influence in shaping thought; stimulate demands, meeting a part of the expenses in other ways.

"To let the question whether or not a class will be income-producing determine whether or not it shall be formed is to commit the Association to the former policy (1) alone.

"The Division of Education and Research is in favor of making the latter (2) the ruling policy. It believes that the Y.W.C.A. is an educational movement primarily and should take its place in the community as a leader of thought. It believes that the function of the Y.W.C.A. toward the individual girl is to open her mind to educational opportunities which she did not know enough to want."

Since the formal class work of the Y. W. C. A. is given lower emphasis and, moreover, is preponderantly vocational, it need detain us little. The oldest and largest of the Y. W. C. A. schools is the Ballard School in New York City, with an enrollment of 3,500. It offers courses in English (business English principally), commercial subjects, etiquette, elocution and dramatics, tea room management, hospital attendance, costume design, treatment of hair and skin, domestic arts, interior decorating, music and the fine arts, the last being both vocational and cultural. A specimen list of courses drawn up for the writer by the National Board of the Association shows the following: Accounting, arithmetic, American history, bookkeeping, beauty culture, costume designing, current events, dancing, dictation, English, French, Italian, memory tests, millinery, music, orches-

tra work, social usages, sociology, Spanish, spelling, home-making, gymnasium, penmanship, psychology and pageantry. Not all these courses are offered everywhere; in some associations only a small proportion of them. Unfortunately there are no statistics showing proportions of students enrolled in each subject, but it may be said that the overwhelming majority are in vocational subjects; and those courses not directly occupational are given only in their most elementary branches.

Of the 406,000 who were reported in the latest compiled figures as "being in educational groups", 319,000 are in cities, 83,000 in towns (communities of less than 25,000 population) and 3,500 in rural communities. Returns from the city associations show that of the 319,000 there are 209,126 or 66% in health education groups, 21,713 or 7% in religious education groups and 88,722 or 27% in general education groups. The last classification includes more than formal class work. When the proportion of cultural to occupational subjects is borne in mind it will be seen that the number of those among the 88,722 taking cultural work is very small.

The chief form of organization other than in classes and the medium which the Association visualizes as the most promising is the club. The statistical report for 1923 shows a total of 5,260 clubs throughout the country, with a membership of 172,817, of whom 148,000 are in cities, 17,123 in towns and 7,694 in rural districts. The clubs are organized on two lines of community: interest and occupation, the latter being emphasized more than the former. The activities of the two kinds of clubs do not differ much, however. There are Business Women's Clubs for those in commercial or office positions or in the professions and there are Industrial Women's Clubs for those working in factories. Experience has proved the division to be advisable; women

minge with less restraint with those of the same interest and background.

Four other branches of the Association's work are to be dealt with. First, there is the work among the foreign-born. This includes classes in English and such subjects as sewing, cooking and homemaking, first aid and so forth. The number of those in such classes averages 10,000 from among as many as 33 nationalities. Further, international institute clubs are formed to encourage the crossing and breaking down of race lines, or, rather, to fuse the diverse elements. By folk festivals each group is encouraged to present its distinctive songs and dances and thus preserve something of its group inheritance while also absorbing the spirit of America. In 1922 the institute clubs had a membership of 7,000. Second are the pageants, which are becoming an increasingly important factor. These are worked out by the participants themselves, who are given only the central idea and then left the problem of portraying the idea in pictures, color, music and movement. Third and rather new and as yet undeveloped, is the "education of the appreciations." The commission which has been appointed by the Division of Education and Research to study and make recommendations for carrying out such education submits the following statement of its objects in a preliminary report published by the Division in mimeograph:

"The commission on the education of the appreciations has come into being in order to bring together a group of people who shall begin to think with others as to how we can develop a knowledge of, a sensitiveness to, and a habit of appropriation of, beauty hitherto unappropriated because we have been too busy with 'a number of things.' The members of the commission believe that whether the immediate point of interest is the beautifying of one's home or the elimination of a

city dump heap, or looking at work with different eyes, there is something fundamentally the same underlying them all."

In other words, the Association must take as its point of departure the point at which it finds itself. If a factory girl desires to learn to play the ukulele, she will be given lessons in the ukulele, and from that point an effort will be made to broaden out into an appreciation of harmony, of subtler rhythm and melody, of musical form. If a cafeteria is to be furnished, it will serve as a means to show the value of the proper combination of colors, of design in the arrangement of objects, of tone and atmosphere in physical settings. Given the human material it has to work with, the Association must begin humbly. What it aims to keep in mind is the end toward which it is working, which is not only to shove the girl up in the monetary scale. For this reason, purely occupational education is not deemed enough, nor is there any organized attempt to stimulate the demand for it alone. And though the particular thing taught be never so material, it is taught only as an instrument to an end—an end which is not allowed to remain too distant and vague.

Last of the four additional branches of work is the Woman's Press—the magazine and publishing house, both under that name. The magazine combines in itself the functions of a house organ and a medium of general reading matter. It has editorials, essays, poetry and articles on travel, social questions and conditions in other countries. Its general level, compared with the professional and commercial magazine, may be said to be high, in fact, much above the average. While the majority of the books published by the Press are religious, there are also volumes on health, women's problems and foreign countries, collections of plays and pageants, anthologies and manuals of civics and citizenship. Some of the non-

religious titles in the latest catalogue are: Nature Study Series, Phrase Book of Modern Terms (social and industrial), An Idea That Grew (history of the co-operative movement), Miss China (the Chinese girl at home), Health and the Woman Movement, Folk Festivities and the Foreign Community, Folk Songs of Many Peoples, Women at the World's Cross Roads, by A. Maude Royden.

By way of concrete illustration, the program of association centers in several typical cities may be given. These are taken from their own published folders and announcements.

Indianapolis.

In 1922 four open forums were conducted.

1. A course in psychology, calculated to stem the tide of fake psychology.
2. A course in eugenics.
3. Proceedings of the Washington Conference.
4. World problems and their Christian solution.

There is also a charm class, with courses in charm in the home (etiquette), conversation (good books), charm in dress, interior decoration.

St. Paul.

Course in Woman and Social Problems of Today.

1. What of the 1924 election?
2. Internationalism—missions and ideals of modern life.
3. Race problems before us.
4. Relation of men and women in the life of today.
5. Industry—our relation to it as worker and consumer.
6. Modern social institutions—our radical relations to them: the home, the church and other educational agencies.

Cincinnati.

Three open forums on minimum wage, social ideals and restriction of immigration.

A course of lectures on human progress in industry; industrial

evolution of society, industrial revolution, present industrial system and its problems, the labor movement, the labor movement in England, industrial reconstruction.

A course in citizenship: four weekly discussions on different forms of city government, departments of government, history of present parties and political primaries.

A course in English literature—six lectures on modern fiction.

Art talks—sculpture, painting and trips to museums.

Cleveland.

Classes in American literature, English literature, French and modern psychology.

A course in social problems of today: ten lectures on eugenics, city needs, newer education, worker of today, home and group life, recreation, modern self-expression, the woman movement, social vision.

Music course, including a course in appreciation, in which the symphonies played by the Cleveland Orchestra are analyzed and discussed each week.

The Young Women's Christian Association has a philosophy of education and a program for its application. Many or most of the Association's present activities are now humble, but they are regarded only as steps in progress to something more advanced and not as ends in themselves. In its potentialities the Young Women's Association is to be placed among the serious agencies of adult education.

VI

THE HEBREW ASSOCIATIONS

The Young Men's Hebrew Association and Young Women's Hebrew Association must be considered together, since they are constituent parts of one central body. This is the Jewish Welfare Board, a survival of

war work. Begun originally for welfare work among Jewish soldiers, it has remained as a co-ordinating body for Jewish social and educational organizations and has taken over the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations, which previously had existed as locally independent bodies.

The Hebrew Associations operate on a much narrower scale than the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. The relative smallness of the Jewish population and the unevenness of its distribution make for a limited membership and restriction to certain areas. Nor have the Hebrew Associations so much wealth to draw on. Their work is affected by the same factors. Much of it is among relatively new immigrants and therefore is confined to instruction in the language, preparation for citizenship and Americanization. Where there are other agencies capable of doing this work, as in New York and other large cities, it is left to them in order not to duplicate machinery needlessly.

The Jewish Welfare Board in 1925 had the following constituent societies:

102 Young Men's Associations.

80 Young Women's Associations.

41 Young Men's and Young Women's Associations together.

42 Social Centers.

These 265 constituent societies had a total of 200,000 active, paying members. The number of beneficiaries is larger, of course, since many share some of the privileges of the association buildings—in occasional attendance at lectures, at concerts, plays, etc.—who are not active, dues paying members. Of these, however, it should be said that many do not come within the purview of this study, since they are still in schools or colleges. Age and sex divisions cannot be given with any accuracy. The Jewish Welfare Board is now itself en-

gaged in making a survey and until its questionnaires have been returned and analyzed it cannot give exact data. The co-ordination and centralization of the board's activities are still incomplete.

The major emphasis of the educational work done by these associations, social centers, civic centers—they do not differ much, whatever their names—is on Jewishness: Jewish history, Jewish culture, Jewish traditions, contemporary Jewish social problems. The main purpose is to inculcate Jewish loyalty. Next in importance is Americanization: the English language for immigrants, elementary civics for candidates for naturalization, higher problems of citizenship for the native-born and special programs on American national holidays. Vocational education plays a smaller role than in the Christian associations. As might be expected, there is a greater interest in music and the other arts. The general aim is summed up thus by Justice Irving Lehmann in his report as chairman of the Jewish Welfare Board at the biennial meeting in 1922: "The entire program of the Jewish center is really intended to promote good citizenship through character development, intellectual growth and consciously Jewish living." Very little is done in the way of formal classes. Inasmuch as Jewish communities are usually in large centers of population where there are public or private night schools offering commercial, technical and manual education, it has been deemed wiser to use the limited resources of the Jewish organization to concentrate on that which other agencies cannot provide.

The Jewish Welfare Board has a Department of Jewish Center Activities, with a director in New York and a staff of field secretaries. Under this department are a lecture and concert bureau and a program service which provides plans and material for special occasions. There is also a quarterly publication called *The Jewish Center*,

a clearing house of ideas for associational activities, as well as an organ of the Board and a medium for discussion of Jewish communal affairs. In the period between November, 1922, and November, 1924, the lecture and concert bureau arranged 291 lectures, 80 concerts and 43 moving picture exhibitions for 121 associations and centers. Periodically there were sent out also bulletins containing suggestions and material for community celebrations of Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Armistice Day, Columbus Day and Mother's Day. These give the historical background of the occasion, source material for speeches, essays and exercises, and suggestions for programs. The same was done, of course, with important Jewish holidays. The lectures dealt with Jewish racial and communal problems, political problems, health and travel. The concerts were also Jewish in the main. This does not mean there was no other music, most concerts being locally arranged.

The clubs are local and follow the bent of any group numerous enough to form one, just as in the Christian Associations. They are much more literary and serious in purpose, however. Their programs are much more intellectual in character. There are intra-city and inter-city debates. In one debating league are New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Newark, Trenton and Paterson. The city representatives are chosen in trial debates between teams representing the associations in each city.

The activities of the individual center may be illustrated by a detailed examination of the program of one association—the one at 92nd Street in New York. This association is not typical. It is better equipped and organized than the average and does a higher grade of work, but it shows the standard the Jewish Welfare Board hopes to reach and may therefore be usefully cited.

First, there is a music school, with courses in violin, piano, cello, singing and musical theory. There are a symphony orchestra and choral society which give monthly concerts, with occasional chamber music concerts besides. The programs are chosen from the standard literature of serious music. There are also lecture recitals dealing with individual composers, Beethoven one week, Bach the next, and so on. Lecture courses are given one or two evenings a week, extending over a period of several weeks. Some of the courses in recent years are:

1. Health series—social hygiene, common ailments, keeping in good health, etc.
2. Jewish ethics—personal morality of Judaism, social morality of Judaism.
3. Social psychology—what makes ideals.
4. Racial psychology.
5. American biography series.
6. Jewish history in America.

There is also a dramatic department under a director, with reading and discussion courses, the plays taken up in 1924 including the works of Ibsen, Brieux, Andreiev, Yeats, Lady Gregory, Synge. The department offers also a course in practical dramatics, including all the details of play production. The Association has two dramatic clubs—the Association Players and the Musical Comedy Club. The former's production in 1924 was Galsworthy's "The Mob." Other clubs, not dramatic in their primary interest, also give occasional plays. Among those presented in 1924-1925 are: "The Boor" by Chekhov, Andreiev's "Love of One's Neighbor," "It Pays to Advertise," "Seventeen," and lighter offerings such as minstrel shows and original musical comedies. There are other clubs—literary, debating, current events, etc.

VII

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

The Knights of Columbus comes under the classification both of the national associations, Christian and Hebrew, and of the national fraternities. It has many of the characteristics of both. In the first respect, it is new. In the second, it is more than forty years old. The Knights of Columbus, which is restricted to Catholics, was founded in New Haven in 1882 and now has a membership of approximately 775,000. In the beginning it differed little from any other lodge, but a new direction was given to its activities by the war. As will be remembered, it raised large sums for welfare work in France and in the army camps at home; and at the close of the war it found itself with a large sum still on hand. It decided to use the balance for educational purposes. At first, this was confined to ex-service men. It has subsequently been extended to members who were not in the military services and also in part to non-members and non-Catholics. From the beginning all the educational facilities of the organization have been open to service men without charge. These facilities are of two kinds: night schools and correspondence schools.

Immediately after the armistice camp schools were opened for men not yet discharged. At the end of the year after the war, when all the men had been demobilized, it was decided to open evening schools in a few large centers. In the first year 7,000 students were enrolled in 21 schools. The next year this had risen to 99,000 students in 125 schools, but subsequently decreased, and in 1925 there were 55,147 in 61 schools, of whom 14,000 are men formerly in the services and therefore non-paying. The correspondence school was not

started until February, 1922. At first it, too, was for ex-service men only and only later was opened to others. But whereas the night schools admit any applicants, regardless of race or creed, the correspondence school is open only to ex-service men and members of the Order. But both the evening and correspondence schools are almost entirely vocational. In New York there is an evening high school, ranked as a Regents' school, giving the usual high school curriculum, but it is exceptional.

Of 84 courses offered in the night schools throughout the country in the year 1923-1924 on 17 can be classified as not directly occupational. These are: American history, ancient history, biology, ethics, French, Gaelic, German, high school mathematics, Latin, logic, modern history, physics, psychology, Shakespeare, Spanish. Of the total enrollment of 55,147, there were 5,367 in these 17 courses: that is, in 20% of the courses not occupational there was an enrollment of 10% of the students. Of the 5,367 there were 1,646, or almost one-third, taking high school mathematics, probably to make up credits for colleges. Of the remainder 1,133 were taking Spanish, 555 French and, curiously, 536 biology. No data have been gathered as to motives for enrollment, but it is presumed that the large number taking French and Spanish have the same reasons as those taking high school mathematics: the desire to make up credits. These four courses account for all but 1,500 of those taking non-occupational subjects. The three history classes—ancient, modern, American—account for 375 more; physics for 161 and psychology for 199. Ethics on the other hand, has but 63, Greek 25 and Shakespeare 16. Logic, interestingly, is taken by 100 and Gaelic by 49.

In auto mechanics, just for comparison, there are 8,465, more than in all those which can by the widest latitude be called cultural courses. In stenography there are 3,060, in accounting 1,944 and in bookkeeping 2,183.

English classes have a total enrollment of 3,975, but these are almost entirely for business uses. In sum, the night schools may be considered vocational.

The correspondence courses may be described as exclusively vocational. Of 23,376 courses given there are some 1,500 in courses not directly vocational and of those practically all are in English, which as here given is vocational. The income tax course alone has as many, and bookkeeping has more.

Outside of its schools the Knights of Columbus carries on no organized program of education, although there are a great many activities that may be called educational. The Supreme Council, as the national executive body is called, sends out a few lecturers to talk before the individual councils, or lodges, but their subjects are almost wholly restricted to combating socialism and instilling patriotism. Local councils make their own arrangements for speakers when so moved, with subjects varying with the occasion, the council and the personality of the speaker; usually they are on Catholic subjects or also against socialism. Effort is now being made through *Columbia*, the organ of the federation, to stimulate programs after the council's business meeting is concluded, and suggestions for programs are given: extempore speeches on one's business or personal interests, debates on social questions and explanations of the Church doctrine.

The lodge also has endowed a chair in history in the Catholic University of America at Washington and provides a number of scholarships in academic and technical colleges, primarily to former service men thus far. It also finances research into American history, some publications including Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis' "Jay's Treaty;" "The Monroe Doctrine," by Thomas H. Mahony; "Charters of Liberty," by Frederick Joseph Kinsman; "Origin of the Propaganda Movement," by

Charles Edward Russell; "The American States," by Allan Nevins; "History Curricula in Elementary Schools as Co-ordinated with Aims in Citizenship and National Responsibilities," by the Sisters of the St. Agnes Convent, Fond du Lac, Wis. A series of studies on racial contributions to the United States is now under way. The Fourth Degree, a subsidiary branch devoted to the encouragement of patriotism, offers periodically prizes for essay contests on historical or patriotic subjects open to high school students. Finally, there is Columbia, the ably edited monthly magazine sent to all members. It is much more than a fraternal organ. It contains fiction, essays, poetry, philosophical discussions—among the contributors are Chesterton and Belloc—an unusual page of literary criticism and miscellaneous matter far above the average magazine output. The point of view is naturally always Catholic; that note is never omitted. It is consciously and deliberately a church organ, but a superior one.

VIII

NATIONAL FRATERNITIES

The Masonic fraternity is not only the largest, oldest and best established of the fraternal brotherhoods, but it is also the only one that has embarked on any planned scheme of education. Even so the primary purpose of this scheme is the inculcation of a knowledge of Masonic principles; but as in the nature of Masonry these principles are not purely Masonic but universal in their content and application, the value of the Masonic program from a purely educational standpoint is not nullified but only diminished.

The Masonic fraternity has 3,000,000 members in the United States, more widely and more evenly spread

throughout the country than any other institution, excepting only the Protestant churches. It differs from most similar organizations, however, in that it is not centrally organized. There is no national grand lodge. Each state is an autonomous unit, with a state grand lodge as its governing body. The functions even of the state grand lodge are limited, for in many important respects each local lodge is autonomous. Anything like a nationally unified program, whether of education or any other activity, is therefore not practicable.

As a result, there are two separate strands in the educational work of the fraternity. First there is that which is carried on by each grand lodge within its own jurisdiction. Second, there is that which is conducted by what is known as the Masonic Service Association. The latter is an outgrowth of the war. It was organized to do for Masons in the army and navy something similar to what the Knights of Columbus, Y. M. C. A. and other organizations were doing for their members. Like many other war efforts, it has continued after the war, with a modified purpose and program. Both purpose and program are now entirely educational. Not all the Masonic jurisdictions are represented in the Masonic Service Association, however. The latest reports showed only 29 of the 49 grand lodges participating.

The Masonic Service Association is a clearing house for the educational work of the grand lodges. Its aim is twofold: to help the local lodges to furnish the right kind of support to the public school system, belief in which is one of the fundamental tenets of Masonry, and to give Masons a better understanding of the history, philosophy and symbolism of the Craft. This is carried out in four ways. First, the Association maintains a Masonic library containing standard works on Masonry and adds to it books prepared under its auspices. Second, it sends out material for speakers in the form of

bulletins. Third, it sends out "short-talk" bulletins to be read at lodge meetings once a month. Fourth, it sends out slides for illustrated lectures and occasional moving picture films.

The library consists of 1,200 volumes. More are in preparation. These are written, edited and published with a view to providing libraries for local lodges at a small cost. Efforts are being made to stimulate systematic study of Masonic subjects by the formation of reading circles and study clubs organized in one lodge or group of lodges. Reading courses and methods of study are prepared and recommended for use.

The illustrated lectures and films deal in the main with Masonic subjects. Those that do not come under the head of Americanization. Thus, one film portrays a newly arrived immigrant being taken about by a fellow-countryman who has been here longer and shows him school buildings, libraries, city hall, museums and similar institutions the benefits of which he may share with any other inhabitant, native or alien. Another depicts the evils of "dangerous agitation"—the penalties of being a Bolshevik. One immigrant works hard and loyally, saves his money, educates himself and thus elevates his position in life. Another is discontented with his job and his wages, stirs his fellow-workers in the factory to discontent, finally preaches outright Bolshevism and brings himself, his family and his fellows to grief. This is Americanization. But the majority of the films and lecture slides deal only with Masonic public institutions and sites of Masonic historical interest.

The bulletin service is of two kinds. First are the bulletins to be read out by an officer of the lodge. Second are those which serve as nuclei of speeches to be worked out and delivered by a speaker specially designated. Most state grand lodges conduct speakers' bureaus to which individual lodges apply when they want

a lecturer. The object in either case is to lend some variety to lodge meetings. The officers have themselves come to the conclusion that the unvaried succession of business and ritualistic ceremony is not enough to hold the interest of members and ensure their regular attendance. An effort has been made to devise something which shall combine education and entertainment.

The longer bulletins are carefully worked out pamphlets on special subjects. One section is a succinct outline of the talk, another is a more detailed synopsis, another provides explanatory footnotes, with citations from original sources, another is a bibliography of the subject, and, finally there is a sample talk. The speaker is urged to work out his own talk from the outline and materials, the sample talk being only for illustration of treatment. The short-talk bulletins are not so full. They give neither source material nor bibliography and leave nothing to the originality of the one who reads them. But they are intended to be followed by a general discussion. Both sets are designed to illustrate and apply to five cardinal principles of Masonry: religious liberty, equality before the law, equality of opportunity, dignity of labor and charity.

Some of the subjects of the longer bulletins are as follows:

Compulsory education: why the Masonic ideal of equality of opportunity premises education for all; the history of education or lack of education in the older European social systems founded on class; the history of the public school system in the United States; its present-day deficiencies; what Masons can and should do to remedy the deficiencies.

Equality before the law: history of the struggle for equality in ancient and mediæval times; the struggle in the American colonies and an exposition of the

Constitutional guaranties; what we can do now to ensure and preserve equality.

Dignity of labor: origin of Free Masonry and its relation to ancient labor guilds; labor symbolism of Masonry; what Bolshevism means and how it conflicts with Masonic ideals; why Masons must support the government; necessity of studying radical doctrines; necessity of standing for and securing good conditions of labor and free discussion and education for all as preventive of Bolshevism.

Religious liberty: tolerance as foundation of Masonry; history of mediæval church control; the principle of separation of church and state in American history; what Masons must do to preserve religious liberty.

History of anti-Masonic movements in the United States and their relation to questions of political and religious tolerance.

The short-talk bulletins follow the same division into five headings or principles but differ in method. They are essays on one concrete subject, so treated as to illustrate an event in Masonic history or explain some point in Masonic doctrine and apply it to contemporary affairs. Some are biographical sketches, some are essays on an historical period, some are the explanation of Masonic symbolism, some are editorials on a sociological or economic subject. All are short, averaging some 3,000 words.

In short, the approach is always Masonic, but the content and application are much broader.

This is the national program. There are also the state programs, under the auspices of each grand lodge, some rather comprehensive, most of them rather scant. In all cases, the program consists of lectures, reading circles on Masonic literature and films. In New York a Bureau of Social and Educational Service has been created, charged with planning, organizing and carrying out this phase of the Craft's work. It has an extensive program.

The B'nai B'rith is the best known of the Jewish fraternities. Its membership is not large—approximately 50,000—but includes the more well to do and more Americanized of the Jewish population of the country. Its members are those who generally hold the social leadership in their respective Jewish communities. Like the organizations subordinate to the Jewish Welfare Board, the emphasis of the B'nai B'rith is on Jewishness. Very little of its activity is without the Jewish note. Where the Jewish note is absent, there is the note of Americanization. It observes Jewish and American holidays with equal solemnity. It preaches loyalty to America and loyalty to Judaism with equal vigor.

The B'nai B'rith leaves all educational effort to the seven district grand lodges. Its national headquarters at Chicago confines itself to the publication of the B'nai B'rith Monthly, which, while it holds to a high literary standard, is largely restricted to Jewish questions. There are book reviews and art criticisms, but of books by or about Jews and art created by Jews. In the district grand lodge educational work is planned and carried out by what are known as Intellectual Advancement Committees. The intellectual advancement programs in the seven districts differ only in detail. First, there are the celebrations of Jewish religious festivals and American national holidays. Next in importance are lectures. Generally as in New York, there are speakers' bureaus, conducted by the district grand lodge. The New York district sends out an average of 25 speakers a month; the addresses are in the great majority of cases on fraternal or Jewish questions. Occasionally some lodges in the New York district have debates; if so, the subjects in the majority of cases concern Jews alone. The Pacific Coast district committee extends its range a little more widely. Mr. Richard E. Gutstadt, Executive Director, thus informs the writer:

"The subordinate lodges in practically every community are encouraged and even importuned to arrange cultural and musical evenings on every possible occasion. It has come to be quite the thing, particularly in the larger communities, for lecturers to address the lodge on subjects of a political, social or educational character, after which an open forum is part of the program. Book reviews are now being held in many of the lodges and some of the better class of magazines are subscribed for, so that outstanding articles may be discussed and reviewed upon the floor of our lodges."

The other lodges may be summed up briefly. They have no direct educational purposes or programs, save occasional "Americanization" activities, consisting of patriotic exercises. All of them publish magazines, which are little more than house organs. Many, however, have social welfare work. In these and kindred organizations there are certain educational values in common, group activities and the emphasis on ideals to be found in all their rituals; but such values are intangible and impossible to assess.

CHAPTER VI

CORPORATION EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

IT is necessary for purposes of record that a report such as this take cognizance of certain educational efforts carried on under the auspices of industrial corporations. Only for the record, however, since most of these efforts are of a technical nature and designed to fit a particular industry. They are part of the industrial process rather than education.

This development is of comparatively recent date. It reflects the increasing complexity and specialization of production and the emergence of needs which public vocational schools and even private vocational schools have been unable to meet. There are not enough such schools and such as there are give a general mechanical and technical education. They cannot prepare pupils for specific industries. The technical graduate of the best equipped vocational school must be adapted to the methods and processes of the plant in which he begins work; and this requires special training. Whether he be an engineering graduate or a bench worker, he must have such training. Nearly all the instruction given in plants is designed to meet this need, to fit the worker for his job or make him better at his job. It has no other aim.

One distinctive enterprise on a large scale should be treated in some detail. The American Institute of Banking, the educational section of the American Bankers' Association, grew out of the ambition of a few clerks

in the Middle West to know something more about banking than was required for their routine tasks. A small group in Minneapolis, desiring to learn a little banking law, joined in 1898 to engage a teacher and study together evenings. In Buffalo and Louisville similar groups organized and in 1899 the American Bankers' Association was petitioned to form an Institute of Banking comparable to the English institute. The Association approved and the Institute was formed in 1900. It now has a membership of 65,000 bank officers and clerks in 170 chapters. Of these, 35,000 are students regularly in evening classes supervised by the Institute. In New York City, for instance, of a total membership of 5,000, there are enrolled in classes 3,000.

While each chapter is autonomous in its social features and is left to decide for itself whether it shall have classes and to organize them in its own way, it must conform to certain standards set by the educational division of the national office of the Institute in New York. The class may choose its own instructor but he must meet qualifications set by the Institute. The class must have 28 sessions, use the Institute texts and conclude with examinations that meet Institute requirements. The chapter makes its own financial arrangements. The fee for instructors ranges from nothing, in cases where a local banker acts as instructor out of personal interest, to \$20 a session. The average fee is \$10 a session. This is shared by the students, and as the median number of students is twenty, the cost to each student is low. Courses are given in the evening, usually once a week. There are frequent quizzes, written papers have to be prepared out of class and a final examination must be taken. In order to unify instruction the national office, of which Dr. Stephen I. Miller is educational director, has worked out a curriculum and prepared the corresponding text books. The curriculum is arranged in

three groups of courses, elementary, standard and advanced.

The elementary division consists of a single course, called Banking Fundamentals. Four years' experience in a bank or the equivalent in educational training elsewhere is required for admission. The subject matter is banking elementals and banking practice—departments and operations, deposits and checks, promissory notes, drafts and acceptances, elements of contracts, bank statements, etc. A minimum of 42 hours in class is required, on completion of which and the passing of a final examination the student is awarded what is known as the Preparatory Certificate.

This certificate qualifies for entrance into the second division of the curriculum, called Standard Courses. These are four in number—Commercial Law, Negotiable Instruments, Standard Economics and Standard Banking. Standard Economics corresponds to the introductory course in college economics and Standard Banking to the college course in banking. On completion of these four courses the student is given the Standard Certificate. He may then go on to the third division, the Advanced Courses, of which there are now three: Credits, Investments and Trust Functions. It is planned to add others to this group, one each year or as fast as the text books can be prepared. The main body of the work is in the second group. Seven thousand certificates have been awarded to bank employes who have finished the Standard Courses. One thousand of these graduates now hold responsible positions as officers of banks.

The Institute is at the present time establishing a national board of regents to act in an advisory capacity to the educational department in helping to work out a well-balanced curriculum, improve courses and elevate and maintain the standard of instructor and instruction in all the chapters throughout the country. Those

courses which demand practical knowledge in the instructor are now given either by local lawyers or bankers, preferably men with previous teaching experience. Standard Economics and Standard Banking are taught by college professors or by high school instructors if no college staffs are available. In its efforts to co-ordinate its work into a unified educational system the Institute has reduced the student mortality in classes from 45% to 32%. In adult education this is exceptionally low.

The Institute has begun recently to offer correspondence courses in its entire curriculum, intended primarily for bank employes in cities too small for a class. The same texts and study material are used as in the classes, with additional written guidance. But since some personal guidance also is necessary, a group study plan has been adopted. Where ten or more correspondence students are enrolled in a city the Correspondence Division provides a group leader who conducts a round table at which students may bring up difficult points that need to be cleared up. Each student pays \$14, which entitles him to all the study material for a course and participation in 28 sessions with the group leader. By way of checking on the group leader questions are given him for three written quizzes, the papers being submitted to the central office for examination. The group study plan has proved successful thus far, 16 such groups having been conducted in various parts of the country in 1924.

The Institute of Banking may be called a successful demonstration of professional education for men already engaged in the profession but still in the humbler ranks. It gives them not only technique but theory. The results are evident in the practical conduct of banking. The rigid caste lines that prevailed in banks a generation ago when bank officers were "just born" or taken from other fields no longer hold. As shown above, a thousand officers in American banks have come up from minor rout-

ine posts equipped by their study in Institute classes. Not only is caste being abolished but banking is being professionalized at all its levels.

There is nothing comparable to the Institute of Banking in the educational departments of individual corporations. As has been said, they are limited to instruction in a definite technology, if that description does not overdignify the majority. To illustrate concretely, the work of some of the corporations will be given briefly. They are chosen more or less at random. Each plant differs in detail, depending on the nature of the product and the opinions of the owners and personnel managers. But those which are outlined here are representative.

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey conducts courses for its office staff in New York City, for the plant employes at Bayonne, N. J., and a special course in economics for department executives, given by instructors from Columbia University. The last, which has an enrollment of 25 as a rule is rather distinctive.

For the office employes there is, first, a survey course called General Petroleum. This is popular. More employes enrolled last year than could be accommodated. There were 20 classes with a total enrollment of 413. Each class had fourteen sessions and, significantly, an attendance record of 93.6%. Of the 413 enrolled, 310 or, roughly, 75% received certificates on satisfactory completion of the work. Class work includes lectures, recitations on home preparation and written papers. Those who have taken General Petroleum may later elect one of four specialized courses in production, transportation, manufacturing and marketing, the four departments of the industry. Those courses extend over a year, with classes once a week.

In the plants 627 were enrolled in technical courses last year, these including boilermaking, carpentry, chemistry, physics, electricity, shop mathematics, mechanical

drawing, mechanical equipment, metallurgy, pipefitting, etc. In each case subject matter is related to the oil industry. A course in refinery process was attended by 357; foreman conferences, dealing with problems of management, by 151; the advanced course in refining by 81, and a course for apprentices only, including English, physics and mathematics in addition to the trades, by 87. There were also two advanced and special training courses for young men entering the foreign service and the engineering staff. These are given every year. The first lasts six months and occupies full-time, being intended to give a general grasp of all phases of the industry preparatory to service in Latin America. The latter, also full-time, lasts a year and is designed to fit newly graduated engineers to the oil industry.

The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company at East Pittsburgh has an average of 5000 employes in classes every year out of a total of 12,000 to 15,000 employed in the plant. The classes are of two kinds. The first prepare the new employe for the specific job he is to do and are on company time, the worker getting nominal pay for the time in classes. The second, which are broader in content, prepare the employe for advancement to a more skilled job and are held in the employe's leisure hours. Among the more advanced classes is one for technical school graduates, providing a practical rounding-out experience after college with special application to Westinghouse needs. This had an enrollment of 350 in 1924. There is an intermediate course of the same type for high school graduates but extending over two years; it had an enrollment of 200 last year. Only a few hours weekly are spent in class and the rest of the time is at the bench under supervision. These student workers are paid from 33 to 44 cents an hour during the two years. For apprentices in the electrical trades there is a four-year course, part of the instruction in class and

part at the bench; for beginners pay is 20 cents an hour and in the last year 44 cents. The usual foremanship conferences and foreman training lectures are provided. More interesting is what is known as the Westinghouse Club, composed of employes of the Technical Department. The members are encouraged to form small groups to study subjects of interest to themselves and also pertaining to their work. Night classes are organized with the company's help in mathematics, works management, public speaking and advertising. Frequent lectures are heard on technological subjects. Finally, the Westinghouse Night School must be touched on. The school is maintained co-operatively by the company and the public school district. It is the usual technical school with special application to Westinghouse industries. Its annual enrollment is between 1,500 and 2,000. Half of the engineering graduates of the high school now hold positions in the company as supervisors or minor plant executives.

The American Rolling Mill Company at Youngstown, Ohio, employing 3,500, offers courses in arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, electricity, blue-print reading, business law, shorthand and typewriting, business English, public speaking, metallurgy, metallography, English for foreigners, etc. These are taken by approximately one-third of the employed force. One-third of those who begin classes stay until the end. This, it should be explained, is not far below the usual educational mortality rate, even when allowance is made for the fact that the term is only ten weeks.

Writing in explanation of the rate of mortality, Dr. A. J. Beatty, the company's director of training, says:

"Many start in courses only to find that student work is just as difficult for them now as it was five or ten years ago when they dropped out of school because they were not of the student type."

Dr. Beatty adds, significantly:

"The fundamental policy of our training activities is to provide only such courses as may reasonably be expected to improve our employes on their jobs and therefore presumably to help produce dividends."

The Dennison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Massachusetts, has carried on educational and training activities for years. Its courses vary from year to year but have been in such subjects as industrial organization, economics, psychology, typewriting, report writing, etc. They usually are of eight weeks' duration, with one hour in class weekly and two hours' outside preparation required for each class. In 1923 the courses offered were as follows:

1. Principles of Industrial Management—talks on planning, purchasing, employment, wages, time studies, merchandising, etc.
2. Industrial Psychology—an advanced course, some previous study of psychology being required.
3. What Industry Can Learn from Its Own History—a series of lectures by Professor Niles W. Carpenter of Harvard University.
4. Report Writing.
5. Machinery and Facilities.
6. Typewriting.

These do not include the usual training for apprentices and employes not sufficiently skilled for their jobs. The class having the largest enrollment was that in Industrial Management, which was taken by 36.

"We have not had any great success in what might be called purely cultural education, even among our higher executives," writes J. A. Garvey, employment manager of the Dennison Company. "We have given courses in

economics and government with very high grade lecturers but they did not have any great drawing power."

This statement is noteworthy, coming from the employment director of the company giving the most nearly disinterested educational work and willing to go further in the direction of teaching unrelated to the job. Other factors may enter into the situation than lethargy on the part of the worker: fatigue, for one thing. But, also, something more than willingness on the part of the employer is necessary before education can be linked directly with the earning process.

Something of a different type though not uncommon is attempted by the Bridgeport Brass Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut. This may be described as visual education in economics. Instruction is given to shop committees and at separate meetings of foremen, usually 250 in number. A light supper is served before the beginning of the three-hour program, which is opened by a moving picture bearing on the evening's lecture. The lecture follows. The general object is to make the worker understand his place in the industry, the relation of the minute operation he performs to the whole product and the problems of the industry as a whole. Carl F. Dietz, president of the company, has worked out a method of presentation which succeeds in giving a clear exposition in simple terms of a complex subject. Colored blocks, colored charts and simple diagrams are utilized to show the analysis of costs, the relation of wages to other costs, of wages to the cost of living and of production costs to sales costs, the meaning of overhead, the problem of waste and the philosophy and justice of interest and profit. The object of this instruction, as expressed in an official publication of the company, is to counteract "destructive thoughts in which antagonistic spirit can sprout"; and the same publication quotes a girl employe who said: "If we all try to understand

some of these things, we will not be so dissatisfied half of the time."

Further illustrations might be added without end. Enough have been given to show that what we have here is training rather than education, training for a specific purpose. Undoubtedly nothing more can or should be looked for under the conditions of modern industry.

One unique venture should be noticed, not because it has a general application to this field but because it is an interesting example of what may be done under special conditions. The Barnes Foundation of Philadelphia is the educational outgrowth of the A. C. Barnes Company, manufacturing chemists, but it is primarily the product of a unique personality and is conditioned by the fact that there is such a personality.

Dr. Barnes is a scientist who gave up teaching to go into business as a manufacturing chemist. He had a formula which gave him a monopoly and succeeded at once. His fortune was made in a few years and, as he says, having no interest in wealth or commercial success per se, he took advantage of his position to give free play to his ideas. His business absorbs little of his own time and not all the time of his employees. Philosophy, psychology and art share the attention and the time both of himself and his employees.

The plant is a study group or club as much as an industry. There are about twenty employees. The men are all Negroes; no white man has ever held a job there. The women, about equal in number, are all white. There is not much work to do; in summer there is none at all, as the materials used in the preparations manufactured by the company cannot be handled in hot weather. Finding, then, that all the work that needed to be done could be finished in five or six hours a day, while the customary workday was eight hours, Dr. Barnes asked himself what do with the remaining hours. The answer came

naturally out of his own inclinations: study. So they began to study.

From one to two o'clock every afternoon was set aside as a sort of discussion hour. Those who wanted to come could, those who did not could do something else. There were two classes, usually on alternate days, although the program was most elastic. One class was for the women, who were more advanced, and the other for the Negro men, some of whom could barely read, having been picked in nearly every case at random as unskilled laborers. There was no formal curriculum. There were not even formal "subjects."

Miss Mary Mullen, one of the office executives, had a flair for psychology. She took the classes, more or less under Dr. Barnes' supervision. They read William James, with difficult passages simplified and explained for them by Miss Mullen. They read John Dewey in the same way. They read and analyzed and discussed and re-read. Whatever they took up had to be interpreted in terms of their own lives, their immediate situations at their work and in their personal relationships. They analyzed the effectiveness of their work in the light of what they read. They analyzed their attitudes, bringing personal and family problems to the group. They analyzed each other's personalities as reflected in their common association. They took up a Negro magazine, found an article of general application, translated it in terms of their own experience, tested it by their own experience, debated it and tested their new beliefs by later experience. Dr. Barnes took the whole staff to a play presenting a difficult social or personal problem. The next day he brought to the discussion hour a written analysis of the action and motivation of the play. The others debated his analysis and presented alternative interpretations and solutions. In the same way they approached race problems, economic problems, personal

problems. After a few years one of the Negroes who when he was first employed was just literate was leading a group in discussion of one of John Dewey's latest works. Another had a seminar in the complete works of H. G. Wells. In one year it was found necessary to abandon the classes because of the opening of the Foundation's art gallery. In the spring one of the men proposed that they organize and conduct a class by themselves the coming year.

Another strand entered with Dr. Barnes' interest in painting. He began his now famous collection, comprising several hundred paintings of the modernist school, with a few old ones and some good pieces of Negro art. Paintings, some famous and classical, some new and by obscure men, hung on the walls of the offices, lunchroom, laboratory and packing room. Bottles were wrapped under famous Cézannes and Manets and Renoirs or now famous Picassos and Matisses. The men had their preferences and expressed them. Art figured equally with psychology in their discussions in the noon hour and at their work. A small library was installed in the office to which employes had access at their pleasure. Books were changed frequently and new ones added. No attempt was made consciously to "direct" their reading. The good was ranged beside the popular; but the good was there, too. There were novels with vivid plots and serious writing on abstract subjects. The writer has seen the collection. It is the library, though small, of a well educated man.

Three years ago the Foundation was inaugurated. It has a handsome gallery set in a large park in Marion, a suburb of Philadelphia; adjoining Dr. Barnes' residence. The paintings are all hung there, except for a few which remain in the factory building. Frequent lectures are given in the gallery. Thomas Munro and Laurence Buermyer, of the staff of the Foundation, give courses at the

University of Pennsylvania and at Columbia on art and aesthetics. Miss Mullen also gives a course at the gallery, while Dr. Barnes lectures there from time to time. The Foundation has published three books: "An Approach to Art," by Miss Mullen; "The Aesthetic Experience," by Laurence Buermyer, and "The Art in Painting," by Dr. Barnes. Only recently the Journal of the Barnes Foundation began publication. It is an organ of the views of the Foundation, vigorously polemical on all subjects pertaining to art and education.

For our purposes, however, the most interesting of these activities are those by and for the employes. They constitute an interesting experiment, if nothing else. A group of men and women, nearly unskilled office workers and wholly unskilled manual workers, have been taken and, while not developed into scholars and aesthetes, have been stimulated to read and think and understand something of the permanent and beautiful in man's accomplishment, while earning a day's pay and producing a profitable commodity. The conditions are unique, of course. The Barnes Company manufactures a highly specialized article and occupies a unique position, being entirely without competition. It can set its own pace and make its own conditions. Also, there is no labor problem. The Barnes plant is part patriarchy, part club; changes in personnel occur once in five years or so. The atmosphere is that of the master and his artisans in the days before large-scale production and impersonal ownership. Commercial and industrial houses similarly situated are rare in this country, if they exist at all. Yet there are some in which enough of these factors may be present to permit more to be done than is being done. Dr. Barnes had not only favorable conditions, but also the desire and the imagination. What he has attempted and achieved cannot be set up as a pattern, but it may serve as a suggestion of potentialities.

CHAPTER VII

MUSEUMS OF ART AND SCIENCE

THE role of the museum in American life has changed in a generation. It is no longer a storehouse of beauty and collector of source material for the professionally expert. It no longer waits passively for the public to come to it, to be received rather grudgingly if it does come. The museum now reaches out for the public. Indirectly the museum always has been an educational influence, of course. But now it makes a conscious effort to be so directly. By means of lectures, gallery talks, guidance for visitors, publications for the layman, loan collections, traveling exhibits, consultation hours for students and manufacturers, as well as formal classes, the museum is trying to appropriate to itself the specific function of mass educator in art. This applies at present only to the larger and better equipped museums, but it represents a goal that has been set for all of them.

This function was first recognized in the United States by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts when, in 1907, it added to the staff a new member with the title of docent. As explained by Miss Florence N. Levy, director of the Baltimore Museum, in a comprehensive report to the Carnegie Corporation of New York on museums of art, the title docent implied a friendly guide rather than a teacher. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York followed a few years later with the appointment of an instructor. And the Metropolitan by reason of its greater wealth and larger resources in art objects has since

been able to take the lead in the number and range of activities.

On the part of museums of science and natural history there has been a steady development since the British Museum led the way by opening its doors to the public in 1759. The British Museum also was the first to see the necessity of interesting the layman as well as assisting the scholar and scientist. This development is sketched in a paper by Mr. F. A. Lucas, director of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, (Proceedings of the American Association of Museums, Vol. I, pp. 82-90).

"Times have changed," he writes. "The monotonous rows of birds and mammals are largely relegated to the study series, and their places taken by groups that counterfeit, or at least suggest, nature, and display not merely animals but show where they live and what they do. . . . Formerly museums displayed objects merely, now they must be exponents of ideas, and this changed condition of affairs has been brought about almost within the last twenty-five years, certainly within the last half-century.

"Thus, museums have passed through several distinct stages; at first, they were indiscriminate gatherings of 'curios,' objects of art and specimens of natural history. Then, by the inevitable process of segregation, natural history came to have a place by itself, the collections of scientific societies developed as storehouses of material, mainly for the use of the specialist, and the public museums derived from these were largely drily scientific in their character.

"The next step was for the scientific museum to borrow a page from its predecessor and, discarding its mere curios, adopt the idea of making collections attractive and interesting to the public. Now we are in the educational stage where needs of the public are considered as much as those of the student, and the object of the

collections, so far as their display is concerned, is to interest and instruct, interest being placed first, because if you cannot arouse the interest of visitors you cannot instruct them."

The extent of the Metropolitan Museum's educational efforts may be seen from the fact that more than 50,000 persons attended 850 lectures within its walls in 1924. Eighty-one study hours were conducted for the benefit of 4,000 individuals desiring special assistance. Four instructors on the permanent staff had 840 appointments with 31,000 persons—members, visitors, teachers and public school classes. One met 16,000 teachers from high schools and teacher training schools, another met 18,000 teachers from the public schools. From the public schools also there were brought to the museum 15,000 children. Loan collections were sent out to 3,000 borrowers. Slides, reproductions and prints lent out numbered 100,000. All this is in addition to the casual visitors to the museum, who exceeded a million in number. Eight free concerts, conducted by David Mannes, were attended by 70,000.

The lectures are given by members of the staff, by invited lecturers and by professors of Columbia and New York universities under special arrangement with those institutions. Some of the lectures are free, for some there is an admission fee of from 50 cents to one dollar per lecture, depending on the length of the course. Most of the lectures are in courses, coming once or twice a week. The lecture is illustrated by direct reference to objects in the gallery. It may be given in the appropriate gallery or be followed by a visit to the gallery. There are two series given entirely in the gallery, one on Saturday and one on Sunday, from November to April. These are the gallery talks proper. A preliminary talk is followed by a tour through the wings illustrating the topic of the talk, with exposition and analysis made di-

rectly before the pertinent objects. The subjects for the gallery talks in the season 1924-1925 were: American art, the art of the Roman, Gothic and Renaissance periods, Flemish painting, Dutch painting, French pottery and porcelain, early American pottery and glass, arts of design, American metal work, recent accessions. The gallery talks are free, but those who wish to attend must enroll, since groups are necessarily limited. A good reading list for these talks is given out at the beginning of the season.

The lecture courses are too numerous to give in detail. A few will be cited for illustration. The Arthur Gillenden lectures come on thirteen successive Sundays every winter. In the winter of 1923-1924 they were delivered by Huger Elliott, Edward Warwick, J. Frank Copeland, Fiske Kimball, Clarence H. Young, Grace V. Clark, Herbert Cescinsky. The subjects were: Evolution of Ornamental Motives; Furniture—Its Historic Development; Elements of Architecture in Interior Decoration; American Decorative Arts; Greek Costume; Mediæval Costume; Influence of Architecture on English Furniture; Minor Craftsmen in English Furniture. Among the other lectures offered on Sunday were two on the Museum by Richard F. Bach and R. T. Haines Halsey of the staff; a series on Modernism, Dramatic Painting, Whistler and Rodin by Royal Cortissoz, the critic; Near Eastern Art by Professor R. M. Riefstahl of New York University and "A Layman's Landscape," by Walter Prichard Eaton, dramatic critic and essayist. Numerous lectures are given also on Saturdays. In 1924-25 Miss Edith R. Abbott gave a series of thirty on the history of painting. Others on Saturday were: Egyptian Paintings, by Mrs. Grant Williams; two on Greek life, by Clarence Young of Columbia University; two on Greek architecture, by William B. Dinsmoor; two on Greek sculpture, by Gisela M. A. Richter of the Metropolitan

Museum; one on Roman architecture and two on mediæval architecture, by William Emerson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; three on Renaissance art, by Frank Jewett Mather, of Princeton University; two on seventeenth century Dutch painting, by Philip L. Hale, artist and writer; two on Piero della Francesca, Signorelli and Barye, by Walter Pach, painter and critic.

By arrangement with New York University twelve different courses are offered at the Museum at different times in the week. One is in thirty sessions, the others in fifteen. An enrollment fee equivalent to one dollar per lecture is charged. All of them include gallery visits and discussion. These courses in 1924-1925 were:

General Outline of History of Art, by Fiske Kimball, Richard Offner, R. M. Riefstahl, John Shapley.

Principals of Design, by Fiske Kimball and Grace Cornell.

Materials of Decoration, by various authorities.

Italian Renaissance Painting, by Richard Offner.

Historic Textile Fabrics, by R. M. Riefstahl.

Oriental Carpets and Rugs, by R. M. Riefstahl.

Central Italian Painting, by Richard Offner.

Introduction to the History of Art, by Fiske Kimball.

Historic Styles in Decoration, by Fiske Kimball.

Early Christian Art, by John Shapley.

Eastern Art, by R. M. Riefstahl.

Tapestries, by R. M. Riefstahl.

By arrangement with Columbia University three courses are given: Mediæval Art—eleven lectures, by Professor Ernest De Wald; History of Painting—fourteen lectures, by Edith R. Abbott; Development of Modern Painting—fifteen lectures, by Edith R. Abbott.

The study hours in the museum are thus described in an official publication:

"The study hours conducted by Miss Grace Cornell are planned to show people how to use the Museum collections

and to give direct help in the problems of design and color which enter into either their special work or their every-day life. They are intended for people of various interests—for those who are concerned in designing and manufacturing, in buying and selling well-designed merchandise, for teachers, for home-makers, and especially for those of our members who are interested in dignified and better design for present-day use. Illustrations will be shown from the Museum collections—objects in the Museum, lantern slides, photographs and books—and from current stock on sale in the shops, which will be lent by merchants."

There are thus seven different series of study hours for different groups—salespeople, home-makers, young girls and teachers. These extend from four to fifteen sessions, the fee ranging from \$2 to \$15. They are informal, more in the nature of gallery talks than formal lectures.

Finally, the services of the Museum's staff are available to manufacturers and merchants for individual consultation. A designer who wishes expert assistance in order to add a touch of beauty to the utilitarian product he manufactures is shown how to draw on the art and craft of the past for his guidance.

The Metropolitan, of course, is unique in its advantages. Not only are its collections and its financial resources unequalled by other institutions in the country, but it is in the country's artistic capital. It has at its command a wealth of material outside the museum and the large number of artists, critics and lecturers resident in the city. It can successfully achieve in education what other museums cannot even attempt. Only the galleries in Chicago and Boston are comparable.

The Art Institute of Chicago has done a valuable service in providing good music at prices within the reach of all—a few cents, in fact. These symphony concerts have proved so popular that it has been found necessary at certain times in the year to repeat the program the

same day. In 1924 there were 56 such Sunday concerts, with an aggregate attendance of 25,000. Approximately 200 lectures were scheduled for the year and heard by 60,000. The Institute also has an art school, with day, evening and Saturday classes and had a total registration in 1924 of 2,400.

The Institute has launched out within the last year into a new field with the addition of a Department of Dramatic Arts and the opening of the Kenneth Sawyer Goodman Memorial Theater, the latter having been erected on a donation by the parents of that playwright. The department will conduct a school on the literature and production of the drama. In addition to regular performances in the Theater by the students, there will be special productions by a repertory group made up of faculty members and fellowship students more advanced in the profession. These productions will range through the whole history of the drama from Greek tragedies through Shakespeare, Moliere, Racine and the Restoration comedies to the modern naturalistic and expressionistic stage. The Kenneth Sawyer Goodman Memorial Theater will differ from similar ventures in the "new theater" elsewhere in that as much emphasis will be laid on revival of the classics as on creating a new drama.

The lecture program for the year 1924-1925 included a special series for members and students four afternoons a week. In addition, there were two courses by Lorado Taft, Chicago sculptor, one of ten lectures on Friday afternoons and one of thirty on Sunday afternoons. Other lectures were open to both members and the public. An idea of the nature of the program may be obtained from the following:

Interior Decorations and House Furnishings, by Florence Spiehler.

Michelangelo's Master Decoration, by Henry Turner Bailey.

The Art of Our Celtic Ancestors, by Professor I. B. Stoughton Holborn.

Planning the Home Outdoors and In, by Earl H. Reed.

Industrial Art and Fine Art Quality, by Raymond P. Ensign.

Modern French Decorative Art, by Hardinge Scholle.

The Romance of Oriental Rug History, by Arthur Urbane Dilley.

Chinese Landscape Painting, by Charles Fabens Kelley.

The Making of a Picture, by Philip L. Hale.

The Art of Spain Today, by Dudley Crafts Watson.

The Fundamental Principles of Mohammedan Art, by Arthur U. Pope.

The Art of the Theater, by Thomas Wood Stevens.

Interior Decoration—the City Home, by Lionel Robertson.

Is There Any Art in America, by R. A. Kissack.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts pioneered, it will be remembered, in carrying the museum to the public. By means of its art school, gallery talks, personal guidance for visitors, traveling collections and facilities for school teachers who wish to bring classes to the museum, it has carried on the work begun with the appointment of the first docent. Every Sunday afternoon a member of the staff or an invited lecturer gives a gallery talk, with a visit to the appropriate collections. These were attended by 4,000 in the year 1924-1925. Occasional addresses are made by specialists on weekdays. The Boston Museum also extends its facilities to clubs and other groups. Appointments may be made for informal conferences in the Museum and illustrated lectures are provided if desired.

A more recently established museum of great enterprise in reaching out into the community is the Cleveland Museum of Art. Members of the staff are at the service of school and college classes, women's clubs, groups of industrial workers, Americanization classes, etc.

Special efforts are made to habituate such groups in the use of the museum as their own. A conference room agreeably furnished is set aside for their use as a meeting place or lecture hall. In 1924 the number of adults who participated in group educational activities in the Museum was 18,000. There were a hundred classes, with an attendance of 2,500; there were 1,000 in club meetings for art discussions; 2,500 at gallery talks and 7,000 at lectures. This does not include the concerts. Fourteen concerts were held on Sundays, with an average attendance of 436, eight on Friday evenings, with an average of 367, and 44 organ recitals, with an average of 78.

One Friday evening of every month is set apart for music, as just noted—either a chamber music concert or a lecture-recital. On the first Friday evening of the month there is a talk by a visiting lecturer. This series in the season 1924-1925 consisted of the following:

Ghiberti and Donatello, by H. H. Powers.

The Fogg Museum Expedition to West China, by Langdon Warner.

English Homes of the Eighteenth Century, by Professor Meyric Jones.

American Architecture, by Fiske Kimball.

Stained Glass, by Charles J. Connick.

Cézanne, by Walter Pach.

Manet and His Circle, by Royal Cortissoz.

On the second Friday evening of every month in 1924-1925 Rossiter Howard, curator of the educational department of the Museum, gave a series of lectures on the story of the art of certain cities—Athens of the time of Phidias, Rome of the Caesars and Popes, Constantinople, Florence, Venice, Amsterdam and Paris. On the fourth Friday evening of the month Henry Turner Bailey, director of the Cleveland School of Art, delivered a series of lectures on twentieth century art in America.

Two Sundays a month there are gallery talks and every Sunday a talk on the great masters in music—in 1924 on Liszt, Gluck, Brahms, Moussorgski, Haydn, Debussy.

The Minneapolis Institute of Art has conducted one unique experiment, its Business Men's Art Club. One night a week from twenty to thirty men engaged in business during the day come to the Institute for a class in drawing. Club is a better designation than class, for they come to draw for pleasure under expert supervision rather than to a class to learn. The experiment was started in 1921, when a few men interested in art but occupied with their business affairs expressed a desire for an opportunity to do something themselves. The Institute provided the opportunity. An instructor was brought from the University of Minnesota and the experiment has proved a decided success. The attendance has grown; as the annual exhibition shows, the work done is creditable, and, most of all, the museum has been the means of bringing art to a group of men more intimately than it could with the most prized collection. The Institute also has a docent service for individuals and special groups and encourages the formation of study classes out of such groups. It does little in the way of lectures, being hampered by lack of funds. Informal gallery talks are set for every Sunday, however. The average attendance is 75.

Lectures, gallery talks and concerts constitute the educational program of the Detroit Institute of Arts. It has also a Print Club which meets once a month for a study of prints and the Institute has recently purchased a large collection of reproductions similar to the British Museum reproductions. Small classes also have been organized for art students. Many of the lectures are for members of these classes.

The informal gallery talks on Sunday are made by specialists when available or by members of the Institute

staff, most frequently by Reginald Poland, the educational director. Mr. Poland also has a special course every year, the last one being on modern art. The principal lectures are the Tuesday evening series, for which special speakers are engaged. There were seven such in the season 1924-1925. There were nine concerts in the same season, eight by the Chamber Music Society of Detroit and one by the Detroit Symphony Orchestra. The attendance at the Sunday and Tuesday lectures averages 300, at the gallery talks 200.

The Baltimore Museum of Art is distinguished by its efforts to reflect itself in the processes of local industries. Miss Florence N. Levy, the director, makes frequent appearances before business men's organizations to show them the resources lying ready for their use in the Museum. Meetings at the Museum in the evening are arranged for printers, salesmen, designers, merchants and similar groups. Once a month the art committee of the City Federation of Women's Clubs and the chairmen of the art committees of individual clubs meet at the Museum to hear a talk and visit the exhibits. Individual clubs may arrange meetings for their entire membership, with an address by Miss Levy if they wish. The Baltimore Museum also makes a feature of loan exhibits of paintings, prints and small pieces of sculpture to schools, Y.M.C.A.'s, women's clubs and the like. Nine such centers are regularly supplied with exhibits of some kind.

The Cincinnati Museum Association also prefers to work indirectly by stimulating in other organizations an interest in art. Thus, many years ago it was instrumental in forming the Municipal Art Society, which has since exerted a salutary influence on civic art. It has also attempted to work through an organization known as the Crafters Company for education toward better support of the spirit of craftsmanship in artisans. This museum also publishes a number of brochures and study

outlines; among them are "A Review of Art Education," "A Review of Painting," "A Review of Textiles." It conducts the Art Academy of Cincinnati, with classes in drawing, painting, design, etc., and an enrollment last year of 427, of whom 135 were in evening classes. The lecture work is limited. Last year J. H. Gest, the director, and his staff delivered thirty lectures, with special reference usually to material in the Museum.

The Toledo Museum of Art has a varied program. Most distinctive is its evening class for business women, attended by women in stores, offices and factories. In 1924 the class had 75 members. In 1924 there were 17 members of the class who had been interested enough to lay by savings out of their earnings to make a trip to Europe under the guidance of Mrs. George W. Stevens, assistant director of the Museum.

Once a week there are what are called analytical concerts. They consist of a short introductory talk on the life and work of some composer, the playing of a characteristic composition and further interpretation from the illustration. The analytical concerts have an audience sometimes of as many as 700. Every Sunday afternoon also there is a concert by professional artists who donate their services. Last year these were attended by 13,000.

The Toledo Museum has a special kind of docent service. There are regular members of its staff and volunteers. The latter, who come only on Sunday, are teachers, artists, librarians or men from factories, each giving the service for which he is specially fitted. A glass worker explains specimens in the gallery devoted to glass objects, a printer talks on the printing and illustration of books and a librarian on art publications. This system has been a success, and 25,000 were thus served in 1924.

Three different series of lectures are given. There is one course on the appreciation of art; this was attended

by 8,400 in the season 1924-1925. The other courses of lectures come on Monday evening and Thursday afternoon. A few of the lecture subjects in 1924-25 were:

Nuremberg; A Nation of Builders; English Cathedrals; Elizabethan Songs; Greece in the Time of Pericles; Louis XIV and the France of His Time; Puvis de Chavannes, and Fitting Use of Small Decorations.

The Rhode Island School of Design at Providence is both museum and art school. The latter has a regular four-year curriculum, with an enrollment of 1600. The school is now erecting a new building with enlarged facilities for exhibitions and educational work. Pending the completion of the building the institution's program is limited.

The science and natural history museums have less elaborate schemes of public education. They have tended to do most of their extension work among children in the schools. The American Museum of Natural History in New York City goes far and thoroughly in work of this kind. It circulates collections in libraries, elementary schools and high schools. It gives close co-operation to college departments and by an arrangement with the state of New York offers courses of lectures to teachers in New York and up-state cities. For adults, however, it has done little so far besides occasional special lectures. But the directors are interested in adult education and plan to extend more widely into that field. The Museum's many publications should be noted.

The Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago similarly devotes most of its extra-mural attention to the schools. For adults there are two lecture series, one in Autumn and one in Spring, which are unusually popular. At each of the nineteen lectures given in the 1924-1925 season the James Simpson Theater auditorium,

which has a seating capacity of 1200, was crowded to the full, with most of the standing room occupied. These lectures usually are on travel—unfamiliar places and unfamiliar people.

In September, 1925, the Museum entered on a new venture, a course in Americanization for adults based on the *Chronicles of American History* photoplays put out by the Yale University Press. The films were used as illustrative material, being supplemented by lectures on the socio-political and the natural history of the United States. This is far from the usual effort called Americanization, of course. After the lecture the audience was invited to visit the collections. The classes came every Sunday afternoon for six weeks.

The photoplays are of a high standard. They aim to show the historical roots of America, from Columbus to the Declaration of Independence. The six plays in the series are as follows:

1. Columbus at the courts of Spain and Portugal; the landing; the first English settlement at Jamestown and the struggle with the Indians.
2. The Pilgrims—in Holland, on the Mayflower and after the landing; the Puritans—a contrast of Colonial life with that of the times of Charles I.
3. Peter Stuyvesant—New Amsterdam and New York.
4. The gateway to the West; the struggle between England and France for the West; Wolfe and Montcalm.
5. The Eve of the Revolution.
6. The Declaration of Independence and the Revolution.

The Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences is of another order. Its extension work may be described as its most important aspect. The Society has organized and regularly serves ten community centers. Each center is given a speaker one evening a week for eighteen weeks. The Society has a co-operative arrangement with the

Board of Education and the Bureau of Public Welfare, whereby the Board grants the use of school buildings free, the Bureau pays for janitor service and is responsible for publicity and the Society pays for the lecturer and stereopticon operator and generally provides slides as well.

Each community center has its own organization and runs its own affairs. The members decide for themselves what kind of lectures they want. At the beginning of the year a member of the Society's staff submits to the committee of each center the list of speakers for the year. The Committee elects which its center shall have. The Society then works in close co-operation with the center throughout the year. In order to arouse interest and secure a large attendance an aggressive publicity campaign is begun in the Autumn. Children in the schools of the neighborhood are given cards to take home. Signs are placed in store windows and articles inserted in neighborhood newspapers. In the last two years the audiences at each center have run from 100 to 300. Most of the lectures are on travel. They are of a popular order, of course. The Society aims to give its audiences what they want, and they want little but travel and very simplified science. For political, social and historical lectures there is no demand, and nothing is imposed, nothing offered, indeed, that is not spontaneously asked for. Occasionally, a little heavier matter is experimented with, but always unhappily. The work of the Society has limitations, but the limitations are fixed by the setting.

The Society has also gone further than other museums in the circulation of slides. It sends these out not only to schools and public institutions but to small clubs, private groups and even private homes. Any one can get a set of slides on presentation of an endorsement by a member of the Society and may keep the set 48 hours.

With some sets manuscripts all ready to be read off are provided. Of the 300,000 slides loaned out in 1924, more than a third went to private homes. The slides are encyclopædic in their embrace: the work of government departments, the achievements of Burbank, cheese making, dairy farming, the Greek period in art, the setting of Biblical tales, the great masters in painting, great historical periods, travel, etc.

The Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences is now putting up a new building and hopes to have a much larger collection and more resources. It has already bound to itself a large constituency in the community and created the opportunity to demonstrate how important a part the museum can play in the educational scheme of a city. But more needs to be done at the upper end of the scale. If standards cannot be raised in the present milieu, the Society must seek more than one milieu for its services.

The function of museums in adult education is restricted by their very nature. They cannot be and are not educational agencies first. At best they can only be centers of mass education. They can create interest in art and the natural sciences and thus act as feeders for centers better equipped to give intensive educations. But even with those restrictions museums cannot be omitted from any consideration of adult education in the United States.

CHAPTER VIII

WORKERS' EDUCATION

WORKERS' education has two aspects. It is a phase of adult education, an important phase. It is also a stage in the evolution of an industrial society. It cannot be taken in the first aspect alone, even in a book that deals with adult education exclusively. For by the second it is given a special and peculiar inflection. The primary motive of working men and women in organizing education under their own auspices and that which distinguishes their efforts from all other forms of adult education, even when they pursue the same studies, is their desire to elevate themselves as a class. They desire self-improvement, of course, like other adults who give part of their leisure to learning; but they desire it as members of a class with a special interest, in the belief that by educating themselves they will be better able to advance their collective interest, to modify, if not to remold, their social order—at least to understand it. Workers' education is adult education arising out of a social impulse and having a social purpose.

It need not be, however, and for the greater part is not propagandist education. It is not what has been called in this book pointed education, that is, education aimed to produce concrete results in action and restricted to that aim. Workers' education is pointed education insofar as it trains men in the technique of labor leadership, but that constitutes only a small part. There is, it is true, a faction in organized labor which holds that work-

ers' education is valueless unless it is a systematized educational propaganda directed against the employing class, if not against capitalism as an institution. But this is a minority faction, both in England and the United States. In the main the stuff of workers' education is the social sciences, not much different in content from the social sciences as taught in more conventional educational institutions. The approach is more critical and the assumption more tenaciously held that nothing in our social system is to be accepted as ultimate, or satisfactory per se. But this is no more true than it is true of conventional schools that the approach to the social sciences, especially economics, is uncritical of fundamentals and the assumption is tenaciously held that what is is ultimate. It is doubtful whether there is more of partisanship in the one than the other.

For our purposes it is not necessary to recount at any length the history of workers' education or of the working class in education. Workers' education as now understood is new; but the demand of the working class for education, whether as peasant and artisan before the industrial revolution or factory hand after, is not new. It has accompanied every stage in the development of the social system. The education of the lower orders has always followed, not preceded, their demand. They have had to struggle always for the right to learn, a right first withheld and then begrudged as being unnecessary or dangerous. Education will only make the workingman discontented with his lot, has been the stock defense. Which is true, no doubt, but only half the truth. Education is an effect of discontent as well as a cause. Even in republican America, for all the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, it must be remembered that the principal agency in bringing about universal free public education was a labor organization known as the Working Men's Party. Its agitation, fol-

lowing the granting of universal manhood suffrage free of religious or property qualifications, was so vigorously prosecuted, with the aid of the newly won franchise, that state after state, beginning in the early '30's, established free public schools. If one of the signal contributions of the United States is the assurance of a common school education for every child, as a matter of right and not charity, then the credit belongs to organized labor.

There is a clear distinction to be drawn between the education labor asked early in the nineteenth century and that which it is bent on securing on its own initiative now. The distinction is that which marks off generally the libertarianism and egalitarianism of the end of the eighteenth century from the twentieth century's concentration of capital and organization of labor. It represents the shift from politics to economics as the main integrating factor in society, the effect, in other words, of the industrial revolution on the life of our times. In the earlier period the right to share in government for all classes and to enough schooling to enable those of every class to exercise their right were deemed sufficient as guarantees of equality. They were demanded as a natural expression of the spirit of the times and won, because victory also was in the spirit of the times.

The times advanced. The old order of production passed. The machine replaced the handworker and the factory, with its impersonal ownership and management, replaced the small establishment where master and man had a human as well as economic relationship. The equilibrium of the older economy was upset, and the abuses of the factory system, before an adjustment of the new forces was even thought necessary, are matters of history—subsistence wages, appalling hours and working conditions, and, in consequence, an industrial serfdom, which, because it was set in urban slums, was more de-

grading than the earthy, natural poverty of a feudal peasantry. Equality had to be conceived in new terms. Suffrage and literacy were insufficient as guarantees of a fair share in the new centers of power created by steam and steel. Labor had to mass its strength in order to improve its estate under the new conditions. It had to and did organize. It had to fight first for the right to organize, and then, after unions were recognized, for the right to bargain collectively on behalf of labor. Then came the long struggle for better terms in the labor market, better in wages, hours and conditions. And after the more advanced positions in this struggle had been taken and consolidated, after the eight-hour day and better wages had been won, labor began to think of the philosophy of its estate, of the underlying conditions in the social system which fixed labor's estate. The process of fighting its way upward from the time of the fourteen-hour day at wages determined by the extremity of each individual's need to contracts negotiated by great national unions was in itself for labor a laboratory education in the physiology of the economic order. And it pointed the need of more formal education. Having won at least a fairer share of the rewards of production, labor had yet to understand the conditions underlying production; and—if its own analysis so recommended—as the next step in labor's advance to attempt to modify those conditions basically.

Such has been the evolution of workers' education, much over-simplified, of course, and perhaps rationalized. It has by no means come in such clearly marked and orderly stages. Nor has it been so logically planned and conceived. Undoubtedly the logic of each step was formulated only after it had been taken instinctively and at the dictation of the needs of the time and situation. Nor has the development been equally paced everywhere. In the United States it has, obviously, been slower. Here

there have been no rooted class divisions, and, furthermore, industry has always had to compete for its labor with the free and undeveloped lands of the West. Until the close of the last century the discontented could always move westward. Even with immigration there has nearly always been a labor shortage. The law of supply and demand has ensured to American labor much of what European labor has had to struggle for. The American workingman has not been under a similar compulsion to organize, and the growth of American unionism has been correspondingly slow. Conditions have not compelled him to think of himself primarily as one of a class, and he does not even now. Conversely, the recognition of labor's rights as a class has been correspondingly delayed. Even yet the right to organize and bargain collectively is not unchallenged in America. For sound reasons growing out of American social conditions the evolution of labor has been retarded in the United States. Whereas, therefore, in England workers' education is not only the most important phase of labor's activity but one of the significant cultural expressions of the country as a whole, here it is still only in the state of embryo.

II

Because we are concerned chiefly with workers' education in the United States, and that is a product of peculiar conditions and governed by those conditions, it is necessary only to take cognizance of workers' education in England, although the impulse behind the movement in this country undoubtedly has its springs in the English example. While individual experiments in workers' education had been made sporadically in England throughout the previous fifty years, it was only with the beginning of the present century that workers'

education began to take form as a national movement. In 1899 Ruskin College was founded at Oxford, strangely enough by three Americans—Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman and Professor Charles A. Beard, the latter subsequently having become one of the guiding spirits in American workers' education also. Ruskin College was to be a resident college for students of the working class, drawing on the University for its teachers, though having no official relation to the University. In his address at the opening of the college Mr. Vrooman spoke thus of its objects as envisaged by himself:

"We shall take men who have been merely condemning our institutions, and will teach them how, instead, to transform those institutions so that in place of talking against the world, they will begin methodically and scientifically to possess the world, to refashion it, and to co-operate with the power behind evolution in making it the joyous abode of, if not a perfected humanity, at least a humanity earnestly and rationally striving toward perfection."

The founding of Ruskin College was followed in 1903 by the organization of the Workers' Educational Association under the leadership of Albert Mansbridge, since then the outstanding figure in English workers' education as the Workers' Educational Association is its backbone. He enlisted the support of the universities and trades unions from the start and, beginning with one local branch in 1904, had succeeded in organizing 47 three years later. There are more than 3,000 now. And in the early years of the W.E.A. the trade unions had become sufficiently interested to take over and support Ruskin College, which similarly had grown and become established as the resident college of the labor movement.

Membership in the W.E.A. consists of labor organizations, educational organizations, co-operative societies and individuals. The unit is the local branch, composed

of local unions, adult education schools and clubs, local chapters of the affiliated national societies and interested individuals. The branch is administered by a council made up of representatives of organizations in the branch. Above the local councils are district councils and a Central Council. The expenses of conducting classes are met by grants from the universities, the Board of Education and local public education boards and by voluntary contributions, including, of course, membership fees. The educational work of the W.E.A. is carried on in tutorial classes, with a two-hour session weekly, the first hour being given to a lecture and the second to discussion. What distinguishes these classes from all adult education in the United States is that those who enroll must pledge themselves to attend classes twenty-four weeks a year for three years. More work is exacted also in the way of outside preparation. It is more systematic, more thorough studying than has yet been attempted here, or could be for the present. The co-operation of the universities in providing instructors has tended similarly to raise the level. It is significant that despite these conditions there are more than 300 tutorial classes. The spirit which informs the methods, aims and ideals of the W.E.A. may be gathered from two quotations. In his book, "An Adventure," Albert Mansbridge says:

"Our Association has especially sought to bring together University students, who are rich in the education afforded by books, and working men, who are rich in the education afforded by life."

In an address by William Temple, one-time president of the association, quoted by Margaret T. Hodgen in her book, "Workers' Education in the United States and England," p. 142, is a more detailed and concrete statement:

"In the development of working class education the scholar and administrator must sit side by side with the adult student, at the same table in perfect freedom. The initiative must be with the students. They must say how, why, what or when they wish to study. It is the business of their colleagues, the scholars and administrators, to help them obtain the satisfaction of their desires. This means that scholar, administrator and working man must act together."

The Workers' Educational Association is not, however, the only agency of workers' education in England. There has been a secession of the left wing. While the tutorial classes of the W.E.A. are in effect autonomous and in practice the deciding voice in determining policies has been that of organized labor, the education which is given under the auspices of the W.E.A. is by no means under the exclusive control of the workers. In the light of the constituency of the W.E.A. it could not be. The break came at Ruskin College in 1909. A group of radical students went on strike, protesting against the large measure of power in the hands of their instructors from Oxford, against the influence of Oxford generally and the economic doctrines taught by the instructors in particular. They seceded, and the faction of socialistic students known as the Plebs League started the Labor College, another resident institution for working men and women. The College was later moved to London and became the radiating center of another worker's education movement. Classes have been organized in England, Scotland and Wales. The work of the Plebs League now reaches approximately 15,000 students a year.

The issue between the W.E.A. and the Plebs League is fundamental and rather acridly fought. The W.E.A. believes in education for workers for its own sake, education for enrichment. It aims to give the worker the

command of culture hitherto possessed only by the more favored classes. It trains for citizenship in a spirit designed to be above class. It does not commit itself at all as to the class conflict. Teachers are desired to present facts impartially and to let students clash over their interpretation as they will and act upon them according as they are convinced. The Plebs League and its colleges and classes have the direct class point of view. They educate for the class conflict. They do not desire education for self-improvement. They want it as a weapon to use in the emancipation of the working class. To quote Miss Hodgen again (p. 143):

"they regard the labor college as a vocational school where the technique of leadership in the class conflict is taught much as a theological school teaches the technique of leadership in the church."

This is an issue inherent in workers' education everywhere. It has already emerged in this country also.

A third agency of workers' education, occupying a middle position between the W.E.A. and the Plebs League, is the Workers' Education Trade Union Committee, started in 1919 by the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. It joins with the Plebs League in desiring workers' education to be free of any other control but that of workers. It shares with the Plebs League a suspicion of the impartiality of university instructors. But, also, it does not dare to make a parallel commitment to socialism or the exclusive class-conscious propaganda. The Workers' Education Trade Union Committee, while organizing its own local branches and classes, functions to a great extent in co-operation with the W.E.A.

Whatever dissensions there may be internally and however sharp the cleavage in philosophy and divergence in method, workers' education in England has a unity of effect. It has wrought already a profound social change

in the British Isles. It is the intellectual foundation of the Labor Party. And if England succeeds in applying to the much deeper and broader social problem that fine empirical sense which has enabled it to work out its political problems by trial and error rather than revolution, its success will be attributable in no small part to workers' education. For workers' education influences indirectly far more than attend tutorial classes. Even die-hard Dukes feel the impact of the Labor Party, and, though unwillingly, are bent by its principles.

III

On workers' education in the United States one can report only tentatively and brokenly. It is still so new, so unorganized and indefinite in shape, and in such a formative and swiftly moving state as to change in character and outline while under observation. Before this report is made public much of what it contains will no longer be accurate. One can only say now, with a reasonable assurance of certainty, that workers' education is here, not as a temporary phenomenon and a thing of the moment's fads but as a lasting and important factor, in adult education as well as the labor movement; that it has freshness and vitality; and that it bears promise of playing an increasingly greater part in the development of adult education and the evolution of American labor. With all the discount that should be made for the discrepancy between official program and actual accomplishment, this is true nevertheless. Discount should, indeed, be made. Much of official labor's profession with regard to education is pickwickian. And much of what passes in labor colleges and classes for education is thin and desultory and short-lived. But there is also a residue that is significant as a social portent.

Workers' education is not new in the sense that never before had working men and women made any group effort to study. Immigrant workers who came to the United States with a fund of European tradition and habit had for many years been organizing classes for themselves, read books and written papers for presentation to study groups. Much of the activity of the pre-war socialist party was workers' education, though circumscribed. Breadwinners' College on New York's East Side, conducted by a remarkable Scot, Thomas Davidson, and attended by the Jewish immigrant intelligentsia in the early years of the century, left an imprint still to be recognized in New York. But essentially workers' education as something touching more than the country's fringes is a growth of the last ten years. It is a product of the war, which telescoped labor's intellectual progress as it did the normal rate of development of so many other social movements.

A study of contemporary workers' education must proceed from three angles: the Workers' Education Bureau, the national clearing-house of the movement and its official center; Brookwood, a residential labor college, and the local evening classes throughout the country.

The Workers' Education Bureau was organized early in 1921 by a group of trade unionists and teachers in New York City "to establish a clearing house for the workers' education movement in the United States, to stimulate an interest in education among the workers of this country, to assist in establishment of study classes in the different localities, to unify the separate experiments on American workers' education and give them the strength that comes from a consciousness of co-operative effort." (The quotation is from the annual report of the executive committee for 1924.) Offices were opened in New York City, an executive secretary appointed, a program of work adopted and conferences called. The

organization of the Workers' Education Bureau coincided with the renewed voicing of sentiment within the American Federation of Labor in favor of a broadening of its purposes and activities, specifically in favor of its sponsoring an educational program for workers. Similar demands had been made at Federation conventions for many years, but the policy formulated and championed by Samuel Gompers since his assumption of the presidency, that of strict concentration on the immediate task of organizing the trades, fortifying the position of organized labor and securing better wages and hours, was maintained undeviatingly. Under the influence of Mr. Gompers the Federation had persistently turned a deaf ear to proposals that would deflect its energies or interests from that one channel. But with the ferment of ideas during and after the war here as in Europe and the impressive example of England, the cry for a little broader statesmanship on the part of the Federation became insistent. And then the Workers' Education Bureau was formed.

Perhaps because the officialdom of the Federation became converted to the cause of workers' education or, perhaps, because it could not escape commitment and deemed the wisest part to be that of controlling what it could not prevent in any case, the Federation speedily recognized and endorsed the Bureau. In 1922 it gave the Bureau its formal blessing and the following year recommended the affiliation of all national and international unions with the Bureau and established a co-operative relation tantamount to an alliance. In 1924 it formally incorporated the Bureau into its own organization by a recommendation that every national and international union raise an educational fund of half a cent per capita to be turned over to the Bureau. The Workers' Education Bureau is therefore an integral part of the Federation, with unions representing three-quarters of the Fed-

eration's membership, or 3,000,000, affiliated and contributing to its support. Thereby, however, are excluded all workers' education projects not controlled by organizations eligible to membership in the Federation, and thereby, also, has been lost the confidence of the left wing of labor and all those who regard the A.F. of L. as obscurantic. The position of the latter is not entirely baseless. There are grounds for suspecting that much of official labor's loyalty to workers' education is lip-loyalty. It endorses and passes resolutions; in positive action it is lukewarm.

The Workers' Education Bureau is, nevertheless, a going concern and an effective one. It has enrolled 50 national and international unions, 11 state federations of labor, 36 city central labor bodies, 60 local unions, 20 trade union colleges and study groups and 6 co-operative and student associations. Its directory shows 107 labor educational committees, 53 classes and 35 labor colleges and summer schools. The Bureau is responsible for the noteworthy increase in the number of workers' classes and has been of material assistance to those which already existed. Field secretaries have been sent out to states where workers' education was already functioning but in need of guidance and to other states where there was an active desire for classes but no knowledge of how to start—how to get students, what to study, where to find teachers, what books to use, how to organize, etc. The Bureau has served as a co-ordinating center. It has published text-books, syllabi and study outlines. Most of all, it has brought together those who can think out the basic questions common to adult education in general and workers' education in particular—the philosophy of such education, teaching methods, curriculum, instruction material, etc.

An example of how the Bureau operates may be found in its work in Ohio. In 1924 Lloyd M. Crosgrave, field

secretary, was sent to that state for a short period to look over the situation, which was said to be favorable for the institution of workers' education. He found that a few straggling attempts had been made, most of them moribund, but that there was a strong current of interest. He began by lecturing in a number of industrial towns on the idea of workers' education and then holding small meetings of those who were willing to give it further thought. If there was enough response to start a class he organized one, in whatever subject appealed to them most—usually one connected with their immediate industrial situation or, if more general, like economics or economic history, then relating the subject matter to their situation—gave the first few lectures, helped them choose a textbook or provided a syllabus, selected a teacher from the local community to carry on and then left. Later, when the inevitable reaction came and, the first flush of enthusiasm having paled at the prospect of mental effort, the classes began to lag, he returned and tried to set them going again. There is little difficulty in starting classes. The difficulty comes in keeping them going. The advantage of an agency like the Workers' Education Bureau, if it is adequately staffed, is that it can provide someone who knows the reaction curve and can come in at the low period and start it upward again. Mr. Crosgrave found, in Cincinnati, for instance, that a promising beginning was dwindling off for sheer lack of machinery; there had been no follow-up after the summer vacation to bring students back again. In other places he found that classes had failed only because they were taught by instructors without experience in dealing with adult working men or out of sympathy with them or unable to adjust themselves to students who had not been trained in using textbooks. At the end of a few months Mr. Crosgrave had succeeded in establishing fairly securely classes in six towns. Without the Work-

ers' Education Bureau it is doubtful if these six towns would have had any at all.

An equally important contribution of the Bureau is the publication of text-books and syllabi. It has already been pointed out in connection with other adult education ventures that one of the most serious obstacles is the lack of printed material suitable to the non-professional student. Books that are authoritative are too difficult; "simplified" books have been simplified beyond truth or accuracy. The Workers' Education Bureau has set out slowly to meet this need. It has published some twenty-five books, pamphlets and syllabi, written with the needs of workers' classes in mind and turned out cheaply enough to be within the means of working men. The volumes of what is called the Workers' Bookshelf include: "Joining in Public Discussion," by Alfred D. Sheffield; "The Control of Wages," by Stacy May and Walton Hamilton; "The Humanizing of Knowledge," by James Harvey Robinson; "Women and the Labor Movement," by Alice Henry; "The Labor Movement in a Government Industry," by Sterling D. Spero; "A Short History of the American Labor Movement," by Mary Beard. The syllabi include outlines of the American labor movement, the social and political history of the United States and the British labor movement. There is also a quarterly journal, "Workers' Education," with discussions of the problem of the field and news of activities.

The executive secretary and directing head of the Workers' Education Bureau is Spencer Miller, Jr. On the executive committee are Matthew Woll, of Chicago, chairman; John Brophy, of Clearfield, Pa.; John P. Frey, of Cincinnati; James H. Maurer, of Harrisburg, Pa.; Frieda S. Miller, of Philadelphia; George W. Perkins, of Chicago; Harry Russell, of Springfield, Mass.; John Van Vaerenwyck, of Boston; Spencer Miller, Jr. The mem-

bers of the editorial board, which decides on publications, are Charles A. Beard, John R. Commons, Fannia M. Cohn, H. W. L. Dana, Jr., John P. Frey, Walton Hamilton, E. C. Lindeman, Everett Dean Martin, Spencer Miller, Jr., George W. Perkins, Florence Thorne, Matthew Woll, Robert B. Wolf.

IV

At Katonah, N. Y., two hours by rail from New York City, is Brookwood, the residential labor college. It was established in the Autumn of 1921 after considerable planning by a number of teachers and union representatives. Brookwood should not be judged, as it often is, by the standards of other educational institutions. It is primarily a professional school for labor leaders. This does not mean that it is technical or vocational. Union problems as such occupy only a small part of the curriculum. Instead, curriculum, outside reading and teaching are planned so as to give men and women of the labor movement the background for understanding issues important to labor and equip them better to direct the movement. The members of the faculty believe that this can be done and that they do it. Observation tends to bear them out. Economics is taught as economics, much as it would be elsewhere, so far as the stuff of economics is concerned. But always the questions are attached: How does our own experience bear on this? How does it affect us? What shall we do about it? Teaching is decidedly not propagandist in purpose or method. Dogma is always challenged. Students are compelled to prove their facts or held to the facts where they seek to bend them to fit belief. Even if instructors were not so inclined, the students themselves would ensure, if not impartiality, at least a presentation of both

sides of any question. In the student body at any time are represented all shades of belief from Ohio Republicanism to Moscow communism undefiled—not by design but because students are sent from conservative unions in the Middle West as well as from the socialistic textile unions of the Atlantic seaboard. And the protagonists of each doctrine are equally vocal.

Brookwood has a two-year course. All students must be in full residence. All of them, in fact, share in the work of caring for the building and grounds. Some help cook, some wash dishes, some clean the furnace. A rather pleasant community spirit is thus formed, the necessity of which is not to be ignored in a community where communists and right wing unionists must face out their differences in every class, where dormitories are shared by foreign-born Jews, Latin Catholics and Middle Western Protestants—even, as in one year, a Japanese. As in all workers' education the social sciences are the basis of the curriculum. Discussion is the basis in method. The seminar is preferred for second-year students. Something like the tutorial system is practised, a regular schedule of individual conferences being arranged for every student. A great deal of outside reading is expected, as well as the preparation of reports. The college is equipped with a good library and its use, while not compulsory, is expected. The level of work done is, of course, not to be compared with that at other adult educational schools already considered. Much more is required here. It is intensive, advanced work, from which a student is expected to get a thorough grasp of a subject rather than an introductory survey. Allowance is made necessarily for lack of academic preparation and, in many individuals, for insufficient command of English. All must be taught first how to study. There are patent disadvantages to conducting a college for working men and women straight from the shop as compared to the

usual college. But there is also the advantage, dwelt on before, in the positive desire to learn which inspires those who come to a labor college. The sacrifice of two years' earning power is a compelling incentive to make the most of their time.

In the first year the following courses are given: How to Study; The Use of the English Language—training in speaking and writing; Parliamentary Law; History of Civilization; Psychology; Social Economics. The second-year courses are: History of the American Labor Movement; Survey of Foreign Labor Movements; Government; Trade Union Administration; Trade Union Organization; Labor Legislation and Administration; English; Strategical Problems of the Labor Movement. The last is a seminar which occupies the last eight weeks of the year to the exclusion of all else. What it is in effect is a survey of current social problems.

The teaching staff consists of A. J. Muste, chairman and instructor in history; David J. Saposs, instructor in unionism; Arthur W. Calhoun, director of studies and instructor in social economics, and Josephine Colby and Mildred Calhoun, instructors in English. Harry A. Overstreet is special instructor in psychology and H. W. L. Dana and Dr. Iago Galdston are visiting lecturers on literature and health, respectively. The faculty is subject to change from year to year, but Mr. Muste, Mr. Saposs and Mr. Calhoun have been at Brookwood for years. The administration of the college is vested in a board composed of representatives of the faculty, students, alumni and union representatives.

In addition to the regular courses Brookwood conducts a series of institutes on special subjects every summer. In the summer of 1925 there were two institutes attended by 100 men and women from all parts of the country east of the Mississippi. One week was given to a Railroad Institute and two weeks to a General Labor Institute.

Every morning there were two and a half hours of lectures and discussions, every evening a lecture and discussion, with afternoons reserved for informal conferences or recreation. At both institutes experts were called in to conduct sessions devoted to their fields.

In the college year 1924-1925 there were 42 students. All were active trade union workers, fourteen of them as officers, the others all having exercised some administrative functions, if only as shop chairmen. Eleven were native-born. Twelve were Jewish, these being garment workers. The average age was 28 and the division as between the sexes even. Brookwood is only open to industrial workers who are union members. The fee for tuition and residence is \$200 a year, but most of the students are on scholarships provided by their unions. There is usually an active communist faction; and here, as in every workers' education center, all questions in and out of class resolve themselves into a debate between left and right. To keep the discussion on an even keel, relevant and tolerant is one of the principal tasks of the teachers. Experience has given the teachers at Brookwood mastery of that task. Their technique is simple—the insistent putting of the question, Why? An opinion must be supported by facts that can be established. The facts being stated and agreed upon, both sides are allowed to state their interpretations and justify them. If, as is usual, no opinions are changed, the instructor sums up the arguments for both sides and leaves each student to make his own decision. Which is, as a matter of fact, good teaching; and it should be said again that the teaching at Brookwood is admirable.

One may disagree with the purposes and premises of Brookwood, but, given those purposes and premises, it does its job exceedingly well. It is illuminating to sit in a few seminars with first-year students and then with second-year students and observe the difference in ap-

proach, grasp and intellectual attitude. It is all the more illuminating when one remembers that these are students who come from factories, not from high school; that most of them have not gone beyond the grades and that, unless they had attended adult education classes before coming to Brookwood, they had never studied, did not know the use of "hard" books and in many cases were without a working knowledge of the language except for conversation.

V

This, however, is the head and front of workers' education. The body of workers' education is not so easy to examine. It can scarcely be called a body. It is something not so well-knit, so articulated; it is scarcely traceable in all its parts. There is a large number of classes loosely strung in industrial towns all about the country, a large number in one city, one or two in another; a labor college with five or six courses going simultaneously here, a single class in the history of industry there; twenty or thirty in some classes meeting throughout the winter in one town, four or five holding half-a-dozen sessions in others; the standard of work varying from thinly spread lectures to hard, intensive application on social history or the theory of economics. In general, workers' education is a group of men and women meeting informally, once a week, and informally discussing economics or psychology or history or political science with the help of an instructor who understands the problems of labor and the needs of working men and women and whose chief function is to explain difficult points, draw out of the students their experiences relating to the subject, and interpret the subject in terms of those experiences. Of lecturing there is a minimum, just enough for exposition of the basic elements of a subject; progress comes by

discussion—question and answer and debate. The expenses of the class are met by the students or by voluntary assessment of union members or both. The work is organized and carried on either by a national union, or a state federation of unions—sometimes in co-operation with a university—or by a city labor council or an individual local. Examples of each of these types may well be reviewed.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union not only has the most highly developed educational program among national unions, but has also pioneered in workers' education, having begun as far back as 1916. Its example, indeed, did much to give impetus to the gathering of sentiment which led to the organization of the Workers' Education Bureau. The garment workers are practically all recent immigrants. They brought with them their European traditions of labor consciousness. Besides, the majority of them are Jews. At the national convention of the union in 1916 an appropriation of \$5,000 was voted for an educational experiment. It won immediate response and the appropriation was increased annually as the interest and demand increased. Now it is more than triple the original sum. An educational department was set up under the very efficient leadership of Alexander Fichandler as director and Fannia M. Cohn as executive secretary. It should be said in parenthesis that at the moment of writing practically all educational work has been suspended as the result of an internal conflict. Externally the conflict turns on questions of policy, but actually it is a struggle for union control between the communists and the moderates. While the latter are more numerous, the former are more active. Inevitably the educational department would be the first affected. The issue would be raised at every recitation. The moderates want classes conducted without propaganda for any one doctrine; the communists want the

teaching of their doctrine only. But it is expected and hoped that the controversy will at least be compromised, so that the educational work can be resumed.

Because this issue has been raised and because, as has already been said, it is inescapable in workers' education, the statement of policy by the educational department of the union before the conflict arose is particularly significant. The statement acquires added significance from the fact that the membership of the union is predominantly radical. It is therefore quoted in full:

"In deciding upon the character of the instruction to be given for our groups, the Educational Committee had to adopt a definite policy. Our courses could be filled mainly with propaganda, but we decided that this is unnecessary. We know that our members participated in the numerous struggles of our organization and have learned from bitter experience that the existing economic system is unsatisfactory and should be improved and changed.

"Our members stand, consciously or unconsciously, for the reconstruction of society, and they strive toward a new life. They dream of a world where economic and social justice shall prevail, where the welfare of mankind will be the aim of all activity, where society will be organized as a co-operative commonwealth, where love, friendship and fellowship will replace selfishness. To attain this end, we thought it necessary not merely to accumulate knowledge for its own sake, but that the subjects for study in workers' classes must be selected with the definite object of giving our members the mental and moral equipment which will best enable them to be useful not only to their own union, but also to the labor movement and to society as a whole, and which will inspire them to disinterested service to the Labor movement. To give such service, our members must receive the kind of education which will strengthen and broaden character, develop discrimination and create in them the ability to form sound judgments.

"We felt that the best way to accomplish this is to give our

members a body of information and incontrovertible facts, which they can utilize in their economic and political activities and with whose assistance they can interpret these correctly.

"In accordance with this policy, our curriculum consists mainly of courses in history, economics, trade unionism, etc. These are presented in such a way as to show how the present economic order is organized and how it works.

"That this policy is sound is shown by the fact that it has gained the approval and confidence of all who attend our classes. No matter what their particular personal economic or political beliefs are, they receive our instruction with confidence."

The union's educational work is concentrated largely in New York City. It has three divisions: The Workers' University, Unity Centers and extension department. The first has more systematic and advanced courses, the Unity Centers acting more or less as feeders to Workers' University classes. In the year 1924-25 the University classes were attended by 250; the average at each of seven Unity Centers was 250; the attendance at extension classes and lectures varied from a dozen to a thousand. There is also a summer camp with lectures at frequent intervals. Admission to classes and lectures is free to members of the union. While the final voice in administration rests with the Educational Department there is a student council which sits with the faculty and department representatives.

The Workers' University classes are held in the Washington Irving High School, most of them Saturday and Sunday and the others on weekday evenings. A typical year's curriculum is the following:

Clear Voices in English and American Literature, by B. J. R. Stolper.

Current Trade Union Problems, by David J. Saposs and Paul Brissenden.

Foundations of Modern Civilization, by Harry A. Overstreet.

Economic Basis of Modern Civilization, by Alexander Fichandler.

Social and Political History of the United States and Europe, by H. J. Carman and Arthur Calhoun.

Industrial Development of Modern Society, by H. J. Carman.

Political and Social Institutions, by H. J. Carman.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—Its History, Aims, Problems, etc., by Max Levin.

Psychology and the Labor Movement, by Alexander Fichandler.

Economic Problems of Working Women, by Theresa Wolfson.

The Trade Union Movement in the United States, by Theresa Wolfson.

Economics and the Labor Movement, by Sylvia Kopald.

Psychology of Conflict, by Harry A. Overstreet.

Applied Economics, by Solon De Leon.

The Unity Centers have their meetings in public school buildings in various parts of the city. Three evenings a week there are classes in English, with teachers assigned by the Board of Education. Once a week there are classes in physical culture, also with public school teachers. On different evenings throughout the week there are classes conducted by the Union's teachers, such as the following:

Social and Economic Forces in United States History, by A. L. Wilbert.

Economic Problems of Working Women, by Theresa Wolfson

Social Applications of Psychology, by Margaret Daniels.

Applied Economics, by Solon De Leon.

Trade Union Movement in the United States, by Theresa Wolfson.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, by Max Levin.

In the extension division lectures are given in different parts of the city both in English and other languages with which members of the local union are most familiar—Yiddish, Italian, Russian and Polish. Systematic courses are offered similar to those cited above. In addition lecturers are sent to business meetings of the locals to talk on labor and social problems. Special classes are arranged for shop chairmen and administrative officers on union problems and round tables organized for intensive discussions of theoretical and practical problems, a discussion leader being provided by the Educational Department.

A word should be said finally concerning the syllabi which have been prepared by the Educational Department. It is planned eventually to have a syllabus, if only in abbreviated outline, for every course offered. Experience has proved that a student not used to concentrating mentally can follow a lecture or discussion more clearly with visual guidance before him. He can reconstruct it better later, when the details of the argument have escaped him, if he has something written to keep. Some of these syllabi, notably one on the social and political history of the United States by Dr. Carman of Columbia, are models for all adult education classes.

Under handicaps much greater than those which confronted the garment workers, the United Mine Workers of America have established two projects in Pennsylvania and Illinois which are equally interesting if less comprehensive and thorough. In the former, Paul W. Fuller started out as director of workers' education in 1924 to see what could be done. He went into the Broad Top region, District No. 2, where 3,500 soft coal miners were on strike. While finances were straitened at that time, it was also a time when they had leisure and occasion to think of their situation. He first visited the local union headquarters and then made a lecture tour, talking of

the value of education generally. He found only apathy at the beginning. What's the use? was the usual attitude. He made a second tour. Then he found in nearly every community a few who were willing to try. He started them, if there were but two or three. They began with a study of the coal industry, which, even if it is not a normal industry, does cross and is involved with every aspect of the economic system. At first Mr. Fuller took the classes himself. After they were running smoothly he selected one of the group to take charge. It should be remembered that these are mining towns in a remote part of Pennsylvania, most of them being without passenger railway service. The educational facilities are meager. Then Mr. Fuller moved on to another town, but continued to visit all of them for consultation and aid.

By the end of the summer seven classes had been formed in as many communities, with a total enrollment of 150. There were enough to warrant the holding of a five-day chautauqua at Six Mile Run, with a lecture and forum daily and some entertainment features. James Mark, vice-president of the district, talked on his experiences in the labor movement; Harry W. Laidler, of the League for Industrial Democracy, on "The Rise of British Labor"; Dr. Richard W. Hogue, director of workers' education for the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, on "Crime and Criminals"; Mrs. Mabel W. Cheel, of the Co-operative League of America, on the co-operative movement, and President E. J. Brophy of District No. 2 on "Coal, a Mismanaged Industry." Mr. Fuller availed himself of the opportunity to expound the gospel of workers' education. His converts were numerous. The next year there were three times as many students. At least fourteen classes were in session over the district during the season. Mr. Fuller took the classes himself at the beginning, came back after a few weeks for further supervision, meanwhile training a teacher. A series

of pamphlets on coal serve as texts, and the coal industry serves as an introduction to economics. In the summer of 1925 the Six Mile Run chautauqua was repeated and three other towns asked for chautauquas in their districts. It is no longer necessary to exhort for converts. The last year, further, a Women Workers' Educational League was organized on the initiative of the women themselves and they, too, are now holding evening classes, using Mary Beard's "A Short History of the American Labor Movement" as text. All this, it should be noted, has been accomplished without any financial resources and among people two-thirds of whom have been out of work for two years.

At Taylorville, Illinois, in Subdistrict No. 5, the experiment has met with similar success. An educational department was created in 1924 under Tom Tippet. An introductory course in American history was started, with classes for small groups and a series of lectures for large numbers. Six months later there were classes in history in six towns, two advanced classes taking up a scientific analysis of the coal industry, and a number in English and public speaking. In November of the next year it was found possible to get enough students for a more advanced class in the history of the United States, with Professor Charles A. Beard's book as text. Much has been done in mass education, speakers of authority being brought in every month to talk, first to a class and then to the public. Lectures have dealt with history, economics, politics and literature. It is to be remarked that there has been a steady advance in the difficulty of the work assigned, with steady gradations from the elementary for large groups to the more difficult for small groups.

The only example in this country of workers' education organized on a co-operative relation between a state federation of labor and a state university is to be found

in California. There a joint committee composed of four representatives of the state university and five from the federation of labor plans and carries out a program every year, the labor men recruiting classes and the university helping to plan the curriculum, provide text material and assign teachers. Because of an unusual degree of sympathy on the part of the university and lack of suspicion on the part of labor the arrangement has worked out harmoniously. J. L. Kerchen is director. Growth has been slow but, the committee believes, sure. Twelve classes were formed in 1925, five in the south and seven in and around San Francisco. They had a combined enrollment of 500. The unit is fifteen sessions. The most interesting of the courses was one on Modern Tendencies in Civilization, given in San Francisco by Max Radin of the university faculty. It had an average attendance of sixty, with an unusually small percentage dropping out, a fact always to be marked in adult education. The other courses were in parliamentary law, public speaking and control of wages. Classes are formed right in union locals and held before the regular meeting of each local. Mr. Kerchen visits each local, addresses it on workers' education and asks for the appointment of an educational committee. He then meets with the committee, and, if possible, recruits enough for a class. Since classes are held before the hour set for the regular meeting it is easier to get members to attend. Progress has followed the usual workers' education curve: rapid ascent with the first enthusiasm, then a slow but deep descent when the novelty wears off and education is recognized as something requiring hard, steady work, and then an even slower ascent when those who have persisted find that it has its rewards. The committee believes the California workers are now in the third stage.

Although by no means an industrial state, labor in Colorado has made rapid strides in education. There

also the state federation is the center. In 1923 the state federation endorsed the idea of workers' education, asked all local unions to assess their members for the support of an educational department and appointed R. V. Holwell director. Under his directorship, supported by the zeal of Dr. George S. Lackland of Grace Community Church in Denver, who took the lead in winning labor's interest, what were experiments have become firmly established projects in Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Greeley and Trinidad. Where possible, as in Denver, Colorado Springs and Greeley, college faculties have been drawn on for instructors and 600 can be counted on to attend classes regularly every year. In Denver alone there was, at the last report, an enrollment of 260 in courses on economics, psychology, history, labor law, sociology and a survey of science. In Greeley there has been an interesting departure in the form of two joint classes for farmers and workers, one in economics and the other in social legislation. Every year, also, there is a summer school for farmers and workers. In 1925 there was an average attendance daily of 100 to hear experts brought from all parts of the country to give lectures in series.

Most typical, however, are the enterprises conducted by a city labor body, or federation of local unions. In the larger cities they take the form of a labor college, with several courses calculated to fit into a whole, stated terms and some machinery of organization, as in Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Portland, Seattle, Baltimore and Washington. In smaller cities, like Milwaukee, Des Moines and St. Paul, the college consists of two or three courses only. In other towns, where the industrial population is smaller or workers' education is not yet established, one or two classes, organized as interest manifests itself and maintained only so long, is all that may be expected.

The Boston Trade Union College is not only the oldest labor college, having been started in 1919, but is also unsurpassed in the quality of its work. Each course has 24 weekly meetings a year. Periods are of two hours' duration, the first hour being given to presentation by the instructor, the second to a general discussion. The fee is \$5 for a single course. Control is vested in the Central Labor Union, but questions of policy and selection of faculty and subjects are left to a joint committee representing the Central Labor Union, faculty and students. In the teaching staff since the founding of the college have been numbered some of the most distinguished men on the faculties of Harvard University and other institutions in the vicinity of Boston. The enrollment in the year 1924-25 was 150. Five courses were offered:

Practice in Public Discussion, by Professor Glenn N. Merry of the University of Iowa and Norman E. Hines, Fellow at Harvard. A forum was conducted weekly, in which students were required to speak on topics like standards of determining living costs, minimum wage legislation, employers' liability, third party movements, moulders of public thought in the last century, etc.

Party and Politics, by Phillips Bradley, Assistant Professor of History at Wellesley College—the basis of American politics; raw materials of party; party in action; party in power; politics and administration.

Twentieth Century Literature, by H. W. L. Dana, formerly of Columbia—Hardy, Anatole France, Brieux, Hamsun, Schnitzler, Maeterlinck, Rolland, D'Annunzio, Galsworthy, O'Neill, Toller, David Pinski, Gorki, Benavente, Yeats.

Law, by Professor Eldon R. James of the Harvard Law School and Professor Nathan Isaacs of the Harvard School of Business Administration—use and abuse of legal machinery; examination of legal institutions.

Economics of Industry, by Redvers Opie, tutor in Economics at Harvard—economic theory; development to the present stage of economic society.

There is also a class in the drama, with the presentation of at least one play a year.

The Philadelphia Labor College was started in 1920. The Trade Union Council of that city has appointed a permanent director of workers' education who is also secretary of the college. The office is now filled by E. J. Lever. The Philadelphia College has made one departure from the usual labor college practices. It offers courses in shop economics for different industrial groups, going into a study of the details of organization, finance, raw materials and labor problems in each industry from the workers' point of view. Other subjects offered are Public Speaking, Psychology, Economic Problems, Labor and Law, Dramatics (the Labor College Players give their own productions), Labor and Politics, Labor and International Relations, English Literature, Credit Unions and Labor Banking and Trade Union Secretarial Work. The average enrollment is 150. The fee per course is \$2.50 for members of affiliated unions, \$5 for others.

The Cincinnati Labor College plans its courses in shorter units, having two terms of eight sessions each. A typical year's curriculum is appended:

Social and Economic Forces in the United States, by Dr. R. C. McGrane—economic basis of American democracy; immigration; rise of organized business; finance; labor; the farmer; socialism; third party movements; the insurgent West; direct democracy; federal regulation; the public domain; humanitarian and educational forces.

Study of Society, by Dr. E. E. Eubank—beginning of human relationships; origin, development and importance of domestic, political, economic and cultural institutions which have arisen out of associations of mankind.

The State, by Professor G. A. Tawney—what it is and why; what is meant by constitution of the state; political and civil rights; democracy and autocracy; government through representatives necessary; political parties and party machines; how to be effective citizens of the state.

How We Think, by W. A. Crowley—why we think; kinds of thinking; memory as a factor in thinking; discovery of problems; how investigation of problems proceeds; how we know when a problem is solved; reflective thinking.

Industrial History, by Dr. G. A. Hedges—an historical study of successive stages through which industrial classes have passed in reaching their present state.

Psychology, by Dr. E. L. Talbert and Dr. C. M. Diserens—what psychology has to say about fatigue, efficiency, temperament; effect of ductless glands upon the mind; intelligence tests, trade tests, emotional conflicts, disordered minds.

Public Speaking, by Professor B. C. Wye—use of the voice; kinds of public speaking; debates.

English, by Miss B. B. Harper—principles of composition; practice in writing, with classes and individual conferences; reading and discussion of types of literature—poetry, drama, novel, essay.

The Portland (Oregon) Labor College offers courses in current American problems, English, public speaking, health, home economics and Labor's Share in the National Income. There are also a dramatic class which produces plays at regular intervals and a chorus which prepares for public concerts. Any group of workers, six or more in number, who want to study some special subject are provided with a group leader by the educational director, E. E. Schwartztrauber. The formation of such study groups is encouraged. The Seattle Labor College, besides offering courses in economic history, the theory of economics, Marxian economics, co-operation and the natural sciences—with teachers chosen in most cases from the faculty of the University of Washington—also conducts a forum weekly for the discussion of public questions.

Whatever the auspices may be, some 30,000 men and women are studying more or less regularly in workers' education classes. The estimate is official and may be optimistic. Probably it is. But whether the actual num-

ber be a few thousand greater or smaller is immaterial. Nor is the particular form in which they join to study together of any importance. The fact is they study. Men and women who are of mature age, who work, who have families and ordinary outside interests deny themselves the usual amusements in order to learn something. To paraphrase one labor leader, labor is tired of being told what to think; it wants to learn how to think. All labor? Hardly. No transformation of a whole class is being enacted in a year, or ten years for that matter. There are 4,000,000 organized workers alone in the United States; 30,000 are attending classes. Those leaders among the workers who are honest with themselves are under no illusion. They find it easily possible to temper their hopes.

In the very nature of the American labor movement progress in workers' education is destined for a long time to be slow and uncertain. For the rank and file of workers it is something just a little artificial. Americans as a nation look upon education as a ladder to a higher salary level or, at best, as the acquisition of a social mark, as one buys a \$4,000 car instead of a Ford—it sets one off from the ranks, that is, from the materially unsuccessful. Why expect any more avid spiritual hunger from those who work with their hands? As organized workers they look upon their unions only as instruments for getting higher wages and shorter hours. If the unions are efficient instruments for those purposes what else need labor seek?

A revealing statement has been made by a national labor leader, writing in a bulletin issued in 1925 by the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, "Labor Examines Itself." The statement is one of a number made anonymously by union officials and workers' education directors in explanation of the apathy of the masses of workers toward education. Fatigue and mental deadening from

the nature of factory work are the first and more obvious causes. But there are others.

"For some years in this country," he says, "the overwhelming majority of the workers outside the bituminous miners and certain branches of textile workers have enjoyed what they consider prosperity. The average prosperous worker, lacking proper education, feels that everything is all right—why worry? Contrary to the thought held by progressive thinkers, there is no great organized spirit of discontent in America at the present time."

In corroboration of this explanation may be cited the enthusiasm with which the soft coal miners in Pennsylvania and Illinois have embraced the opportunity to join classes. The Garment Workers' Union is in the textile trades, but there the issue is mixed. The members are Jewish as well as unprosperous, and as a matter of fact their material condition has been vastly bettered in the last few years.

American labor is still in an earlier stage of development. Its philosophy is correspondingly confined. Neither collectively nor individually has it sense of class. The individual regards himself as a potential capitalist. He joins a union so he can get higher prices for his commodity, which is labor. When he gets as much as the market seems able to bear he is passive. For the last few years he has been passive. To a great extent this is inherent in American social conditions, and to that extent it is not wholly regrettable. To prescribe a hard lot for American workmen for discontent's sake is to be warped. If, then, labor's officials are slow to sponsor remote and abstract causes like education, they are only representative of their constituency. To be sure, like most officers of large organizations, they are more backward than many in the ranks, and it is to be noted that the initiative in advocating workers' education as well as in starting projects has come from without the official-

dom of the American Federation of Labor. Also, like all permanent officers, they have a vested caste interest to protect. The gulf between them and the ranks had best be kept from narrowing dangerously. They are professional officers, holding office because they know more about the job of administering unions than the mass of the membership. The emergence of younger men, who know as much and are armed besides with newer and perhaps more effective weapons, might easily jeopardize their security. Like any other hierarchy, the officials of American labor have a fear of too much education. It is politic to keep the ranks a little ignorant. The cause may be vested interest and it may be straitened philosophy, but in any case the attitude of a large proportion of labor leaders toward workers' education is open to suspicion. They have seen the drift and do not set themselves against it. But they do nothing to accelerate it either. If occasion offers, they may even sabotage. Where outward expression is in order, they talk eloquently and well, but privately they regard workers' education as another new-fangled notion of impractical cranks. This is a factor that must not be minimized in appraising the immediate future of the movement in this country.

There are other factors of obstruction more important because deeper and less easily overcome. Many of them are not peculiar to workers' education. First is plain human inertia. The number of human beings of any condition or class who want to think is painfully small, and smaller still the number of those who will unless compelled to. And voluntarily to put oneself into a position where at least an effort at thought is inescapable requires spartan sternness of soul. Not many human beings are so endowed. Further, the proportion of workmen with intellectual interests is small, at least as small as that of the middle class. Like all other adults, they have lost the habit of mental application to study,

if they ever had it. Their reading since schooldays has been confined to light fiction, if that. Greatest of all, there is fatigue. It is understandable if men and women who have spent a day at the machine are in no mood to listen to a lecture, read a chapter on the history of literature or join in a discussion on economic theory. Which emblazoned doors does the tired business man, yes, even the leading alumnus, enter on Broadway at 8:15 of a Saturday evening? Under such circumstances no sudden congestion may be expected in the world of scholarship from an immigration of workers.

Finally, there must be set down those factors which are common to all adult education, as we have already seen. Books that can be used with satisfaction by adults not of the student class are almost non-existent. A new literature must be written. There is no uniformity of preparation in the students of a single class. One may assume without risk what sixty sophomores will know, for all will have come up through the same stages—the same subjects, the same books, the same kind of teaching. In a class of twelve workers some will have left school in the sixth grade, one or two will have had two years of high school; some will never have read anything but the newspapers of the largest circulation and one or two will have read sophisticated radical literature; some are naturally of the studious, bookish type of mind and some express themselves most surely with their hands; and others at all points between the two extremes. How shall a teacher talk to them at once and be understood by all? What idiom can he find that is a common denominator?

The subject of idiom raises the whole question of teachers. To teach any adults, not workers alone, there must be devised an idiom of communication that is not only a common denominator for students not academically homogeneous but also is calculated to fit the special

needs of adults. A new kind of teacher there must be, in other words. Bad teaching has repelled more students, probably, than inertia and fatigue. Adults cannot be held under discipline. No parental compulsions can be applied. If they are interested, they stay; if not, they walk out. In one city on the Pacific coast a workers' education project was started with a teacher from a local high school. In four weeks the class had disbanded. The students had just stopped coming. Another was started with the same teacher. It, too, suspended in a few weeks. The instructor went to an experienced director of workers' education for advice and consolation. He was unable to understand why he had failed. He gave the same civics he gave in high school. The same material? he was asked. Exactly the same. What method of presentation did he use, just how did he conduct his class? Exactly the same as in high school, exactly. He had tried hard, had worked hard; and he could not hold them. He could not understand. It had not occurred to him that grown men cannot be taught like children, or that maybe his high school children stayed in class only because they would not dare parental wrath.

Another incident, oft repeated where teachers of workers' education classes meet, points a second essential for teachers in such classes. An instructor in a small college was engaged to conduct a class in economics for workers in a small midwestern industrial town. He was an experienced teacher, successful in his college. He came with sympathy, a spirit of helpfulness and an interest in the field. He was, moreover, well grounded in economics. He knew his subject from Adam Smith to Ripley—maybe, like most teachers of political economy, more of Adam Smith than of the times of Ripley, if not of Ripley himself; but he knew. Two or three sessions went off uneventfully, if somewhat draggingly. The next session the instructor was lecturing—the economic man,

marginal utility, "other things being equal," "the long run," etc., all in the purest spirit of college economics. Suddenly there was an ominous scraping of a chair and a stolidly built ironmolder rose slowly to his feet.

"Professor," he asked undemonstratively, "Professor, what the hell are you talking about?"

And looking neither to right nor to left, he walked out of the door.

The instructor went home hurt, humiliated and self-pitying. That was the thanks he got! That's what came of going out among the proletariat! No sophomore had ever demanded of him what in hell was he talking about and then left the classroom in high scorn. But he was made of sound stuff, this teacher. It occurred to him then that every sophomore knew that a venture like that would have sent him packing off the campus. Did he really know what his sophomores thought? What went on in their minds when they sat so quietly and so mechanically filled their notebooks? What were those notes? What did it all mean to them? What connection did it all have in their minds with the stuff of their daily lives? What connection, for that matter, with the stuff of his own daily life, his wife's daily life—her marketing and her household budget? Well, just what was he talking about? He communed with himself late into the night and came to a resolution.

At the next session of his workers' class he did not begin as usual. He opened up directly with the incident of the previous session. He asked bluntly what was the matter. Were they satisfied with what he was giving them? Why not? What was the matter with it? What was the matter with him? Could they not get together? They told him, speaking one at a time, haltingly and inarticulately but clearly. They came there because they wanted to understand the mechanics of the world they worked in, the kind of business and industrial world

they saw going on about them every day but could not fathom. They wanted to recognize what he was talking about as having to do with their world—the world of the factory, office, markets, labor adjustments. Besides, one contributed, he for one didn't believe all the things the professor had said. He could show him how things weren't that way, the way he said. Now, down in his plant——

It need hardly be added that no class in that course was ever again conducted as were the first few sessions. It had to do usually with the industries in that town. Illustrations were taken from local conditions. There were no lectures. The instructor argued with the students or set them to arguing among themselves. He showed them how the experience of their own factories and of every factory in the country proved there was a general law which produced everywhere and always under given conditions the results they could not understand or accept in their own industries. They showed him with specific illustrations how "economic law" was nullified in his own day in his own town. That instructor is now one of the most successful teachers of workers in the state, and one of the most popular. Moreover he no longer teaches his sophomore class as he used to. You cannot teach adults as you do children, because they are living in the world of work too and know something of what you are teaching and do not accept so unquestioningly and passively. It may be, even, that you cannot teach children as you teach children.

Most of these considerations apply equally to other forms of adult education and will be dealt with later, if they have not already been touched on before. But concerning workers' education alone a few general statements can be set down as already clearly demonstrated by experience. Few workers come with any fundamental of knowledge. Learning must be simplified, or oversim-

plified, at the beginning. They must first be interested and then instructed, and they can be instructed only if they are interested. Economic law or history or science or whatever is being taught must be made palatable without tampering with its ingredients. A teacher of special faculties is required, and a new technique of teaching: first, because these students are adults; second, because they come with some experience of life; third, because the body of material taught must be closely related to their immediate problems, whether personal or occupational; fourth, because a new idiom of communication must be worked out. Where the successful teacher can be found—there is no difficulty in finding willing ones, men liberal by belief and rebellious against the tedium of teaching uninterested college youths—he will have his reward. More than one has testified that he has learned as much from his students as they from him. They bring him something warm and first-hand from the life of which he must remain only an observer. Finally, workers intend to control their own education. They may co-operate with universities and associations of educators and adult educators and laymen of good will, but theirs will be the deciding voice. Their motive is not any assurance of self-sufficiency. If they are honest, they are doubtful whether they can plan, carry out and supervise their educational program as well as educators and “intellectuals” might. Their position is simply that they know best what they need, and that if workers are to have their own channels of education, separate from the main public channel of the community, they must guide their own craft in it.

There are obstacles indeed to the success of workers' education, even to its rapid progress. There are fixed boundaries to its hopes. At best, workers' education will never affect very deeply more than a minority, quite likely only a small minority. The mass will not devote

themselves to any intensive pursuit of learning for its own sake or for the advantage that it will bring to them as a class at some distant date. They will not have the energy or the ambition, even if they have the capacity, which, too, may be doubted. Lectures, plays and public debates will do something by way of mass education in broadening the horizon of the majority. And the leaven of the minority that does study regularly, that gets an open-eyed understanding of our civilization and its mechanics and motivations, will lighten the mass. The leaven has already begun to work. There is workers' education, and it has promise. In the movement is something tremendously vital and dynamic by reason of its freshness, its spontaneity, its lack of commitment and its genuineness. There is also something tremendously significant in it as a social portent. Socially no less than culturally workers' education is one of the pregnant facts of our time.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

IN fine, there is adult education. For whatever it may come to in the end, we have it. Something new has emerged in American life, something that cannot be understood without recognizing that it is entirely new. Adult education is not just the extension to the adult of the existing educational system. It is another form of education, to be judged as such.

Education in this country generally connotes institutions: schools, high schools and colleges; acres of campus, costly buildings, intricate systems of administration, boards of trustees and budgets in millions; vocal and importunate alumni and thousands of students—thousands of students. Size and quantity—the usual American criteria. By these criteria adult education is not of very serious moment. There are no buildings and grounds, no administrative hierarchy, no budgets. Its machinery is simple, if not crude. Sometimes records are kept, more often not. In practice adult education consists of a teacher and students and a place to meet; the students may number only five or six, the teaching may be an affront to orthodox pedagogy and there is no culmination in examinations, credits or degrees. Not very imposing, as tested by the criteria of our great educational systems; but why should it be so tested?

Adult education is the education of adults and by that fact is peculiar to itself. The adult is a student by volition. He has no direct incentive to submit himself to

instruction. He has no credits or degrees dangling before him. Education will not better his social position appreciably or bring him any material benefits—assuming that he is not taking vocational work. There is ~~no~~ incentive except the desire to increase his learning. Learning, therefore, must be made interesting to him and demonstrated to be worth while in itself. No force but the attraction of interest can hold him. Other forces of attraction draw him in an opposite direction: fatigue, the traditional belief that youth is the time for education, the bad taste that school left in his mouth (it is not clear whether adults are reluctant to learn because they got tired of education or because they got tired of school), the claims of his family and friends, the appeal of the lodge, the radio, the moving picture. And the attraction of interest must win out in a free field of competition, without artificial weighting in its favor by parental and social compulsions.

How to make it stronger—strong enough to survive in the competition? Solution of the problems unfolding from that question will lay the basis of a new science of pedagogy, if not a new philosophy of education. As we have seen, the only pedagogy we know now is of little application or utility. A new text-book literature, a new technique of teaching, a new kind of teacher are demanded. Books must be written for laymen—authoritative but not technical. Teaching must be a co-operative process. There can be no “teaching,” no doling out of fact to be given back in quantity and kind by student. Instead there must be mutual examination of a body of phenomena, of which both teacher and student have some knowledge and experience, and mutual agreement on the interpretation of phenomena reached by discussion. While there may be a disparity in knowledge between teacher and student, there must be complete intellectual equality in discussion. The atmos-

phere must be one of informality, the teacher a chairman rather than a taskmaster, the student at ease and unhesitant in expressing his opinion. Finally, to paraphrase the English leader in workers' education already quoted, the student shall have equal voice in determining what, how, when he shall study—his being automatically the exclusive voice in determining why or whether he shall study.

Teachers must begin with an understanding of the world of work from which their students come. They must be willing to waive assumptions of superiority and the right to speak *ex cathedra*, accepting with tolerance challenge from those who know less than themselves. Since their function will not be the handing down of dicta but the exchange of experience as between equals, they will devise, on their part, means of communication suitable to the relation between equals. And they will have to make themselves masters of the new technique required by the fact that they are working with adults who have other claims on their energy, attention and interests. In all likelihood teachers will have to be trained especially for work with adults. It will have been observed, however, from the recurrence of certain names that a distinct adult education teaching personnel already is emerging.

More is asked of such a teacher than of a teacher of adolescents. It is easier by far to have lessons prescribed by a school superintendent or to work out a sequence of lectures which can be repeated term after term, with the certainty that those who hear must take them as they are or flunk. But if more is asked, more is given in return. Such a teacher has the satisfactions of willing response and visible accomplishment. He escapes the barrenness of association with those who can only absorb and the discouragement of knowing that he is endured as a penance. He need not be pathetically grateful if

now and then an undergraduate be stimulated by something he has said to come to him and ask a question indicating reflection on what he has said. The teacher in adult education can have an outlet for his creative instincts.

Granting that adult education is a new form of education and judging it therefore by its own standards, what then? At the most, it is thus far of greater consequence as a tendency than in accomplishment. By those standards, as we have seen, there is not much genuine education, not much in proportion to size of population and material well-being, though more in proportion to effort. The enterprises engaged in educating adults are few, insecurely established and in the early stages of experiment. The adults willing to be educated also are few and their willingness may be transitory. But the tendency is unmistakable and of good omen.

On general grounds any society is nearer maturity when learning is recognized to be a process continuing throughout life. With special reference to America, it is a symptom of coming of age that even a small proportion of its population begins to examine itself, to look at itself critically and to search for meanings. Adult education is not the only symptom of national malaise, but it is stronger and more widespread than the others. This is not confined to the articulate intelligentsia. Men and women not of the professional intellectuals are beginning, if not to be disenchanted with the complacent philistia in which we dwell, at least to question its sanctity. They are beginning to show signs of skepticism of bigness and speed and quantity. There is evidence of a discontent with absorption in production and distribution; a disposition to question why we produce so much of what we are producing and whether it is worth producing at all; an openness to speculation on whether the prodigious material success of America is as rich in life values

as in motion and speed and number of things. Any class in adult education worth considering at all is an iteration of the word, Why? Out of such questionings, whether in institutions of adult education, in the new fiction or in the intellectual magazines of protest, may be born eventually a culture, and life in America may have some flavor and depth as well as moving surface.

For the mental health of any highly industrialized society adult education is indispensable. The craftsman of the older society could exercise his mind and imagination in his work. His creative faculties had some play, no matter how simple the task. He could find some little expression of identity in every piece he made; it was his piece, conceived by him and made by him. The factory worker goes through an unvarying series of repetitive physical processes. He turns a screw all day, takes a bottle off a belt or moves a single lever in one direction. In effect he is a machine himself. "The machine has robbed the modern worker of interest in his job." If, then, his faculties are not to become atrophied from disuse, they must find exercise elsewhere, either in education or amusement. And the level of amusement he seeks will be determined by his education.

Just at this point a word of caution is advisable. One of the factors which will determine the success or failure of adult education—success qualitatively as well as quantitatively—will be the degree to which it is kept free from suspicion of uplift. Very decidedly this is no bearing of light unto the darkness of the submerged, of American civilization unto the backwardness of the foreign-born. It is not there that we need be concerned for adult education. As a matter of fact the extremes of the social scale are fairly well provided for. The intellectual has his channels or can find them. The worker and the foreign-born have their forums, their People's Institute, their workers' classes, their summer schools.

It is in the middle ranges one finds a void. As we have seen, those enterprises that draw their clientele from the social median line have the thinnest cultural content. It is not far-fetched to draw an economic line in adult education, a line fixed at, say, \$2,500 a year. Under \$2,500 one finds alertness, eagerness, intellectual clash; above \$2,500 woodenness, sluggishness, blind receptiveness. In a public forum in a workers' or immigrant quarter of a large city questions have to be shut off and the audience urged out and the debate is continued on the sidewalk; in a respectable suburban church forum questions have to be artificially stimulated. It is a generalization, of course; there are suburban forums that are alive and well-to-do groups that are keen. But with allowance for generalizations it holds. In adult education the question is not so much, What shall we do to literate and improve the ignorant mass, but, What shall we do to enlighten the great sodden American middle class—college graduates, owners of \$3,000 cars, members of country clubs?

Finally, movements are familiar enough in American life. They light, flare and gutter out in vivid but melancholy succession all through our history. A revealing and engaging history of the United States might be written by merely chronicling the millennial promises that have had their radiant moment and drifted away in ashes of disillusion. Not a cubit has been added to our cultural stature by having taken thought of adult education. And it is yet not much more than a thought, though a vigorous one. The mental reservation is therefore well advised. The professional vanguard is already striking its tents. Footsteps on the trail to the bandwagon may be faintly traced even now. A few seats far forward have already been pre-empted, with the customary gusto.

All the intellectually restless, uprooted, unadjusted and over-energetic who give motion and momentum to our

fads or make fads of ideas seriously conceived and modestly broached—psycho-analysis, Americanism, Nordicism, reformism or calories—all such have taken notice of adult education. Their ears attuned to the new and catchy, they have caught faint echoes from afar. Adult education? they are asking. What is it? Ah, Europe has it. It is being written about here. It is good. Let us have it. And adult education they will talk and adult educators they will be, though using the same phrases and doing the same things they were before. Added to that ilk and equally dangerous is the horde of professional organizers, those who live by attaching themselves to whatever is new and seems prosperous. Like any other idea, adult education is in as great danger from over-enthusiasm as from apathy. It will grow fast enough; what is to be feared is that it will grow too fast. From its too passionate friends and advocates it must be protected.

Let us eschew, then, the locutions of seekers after utopias, fabricators of millenia, lightning-change reformists. We have donned no seven-league boots to culture. No intellectual aristocracy will be created, American civilization will not be remade, in classes once a week. But if adult education proceed slowly and undemonstratively, educating five thoroughly rather than five thousand superficially, we shall have pushed back by just so far the frontier of ignorance, advanced by just so far toward the end of attaining the good life. In the fact of adult education alone there is encouragement; and the beginnings are auspicious.

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